



BROADWAY TRANSLATIONS

*Age cannot wither her nor custom stale
Her infinite variety*



SAPPHO

(From the bust in the Pitti Palace Florence)

Broadway Translations

SAPPHO
THE POEMS AND FRAGMENTS

Greek Text with an English Translation by
C. R. HAINES M.A. (Cantab), B.D., F.S.A.
and Introduction Notes Glossary etc.

With 20 Plates (comprising 43 Illustrations)

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TO SAPPHO

*Dimly we see thee in those far-off days
Thy bosom glowing with Aeolian fire
And Aphrodite's girdle of Desire
Warming thy soul to love's entrancing lays
Thy brows are circnured still with living bays
Which crown thy brave boast that the years to be
O glorious Sappho should remember thee
My stammering words are fain to tell thy praise,
And echo in a strange barbarian tongue
(How rude to strains that Lesbos made divine !)
The magic music that thy lips have sung
As deathless as old Homer's mighty line
Which through all ages in our ears has rung
Thou mortal Muse immortal as the Nine*

C. R. H.

*Δῶρα χερὸς φιλας φαυλης περ θαῦμα γυναικῶν
Σπινθια τηῖστι δέχουι αὐτε φέλει φυιλι μελῶν*

SIGLA

Marks Fragments not specifically attributed to Sappho
in the authors where they occur

† Obelizes readings which are incurably corrupt.
— Under a Greek word in the Vocabulary means that it
is conjecturally supplied

Under a letter in the same signifies that it is doubtfully
read.

In the English versions words that have no counterpart in
the Greek are italicized.

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† Means a poem which is too mutilated to give any connected sense

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IV A red figured vase of the fifth century B.C. from the Middleton Collection at Paris. Sappho seated with a scroll rolled up in her left hand, is being presented with a wreath by a winged Eros over whose out stretched arm is the enigmatical word ΤΑΛΑΣ *facing p* 48

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No. 3 Obverse with head similar to that upon No. 1
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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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PLATE

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PLATE

XIV Sappho and Alcaeus on the Agrigentine crater of the fifth century B C , now at Munich As their names are inscribed, there can be no dispute about the ascription But the meaning of $\Delta\Lambda\MA\ K\AL\OS$ is not clear On the same vase are depicted two figures very similar in character to these, pledging one another, he with a cantharus and she with a lecythus Whether they also represent Sappho and Alcaeus is not certain, but surely it is probable *facing p 104*

XV The bust, or rather head, in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, for a photograph of which I have to thank especially the Director of the Gallery This is of the same general type as the " Castellani " bust (Plate IX), but with a much severer and sadder expression, perhaps not quite in keeping with our ideas of the muse-loving Sappho The chin, also, is too rounded *facing p 108*

XVI The Sappho of the Terme Museum, in Rome (from a photograph by Bernard Ashmole) *facing p 120*

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XVIII Imperial bronze coins of the second and third century A D from the Vienna Cabinet, for the casts of which I have to thank Dr Münsterberg
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 No 2 The reverse of a unique coin of Julia Domna, the wife of the Emperor Severus, struck between 193 and 214 A D Sappho is seen seated with a lyre resting on the seat at her left The legend is scarcely readable, but traces of $\Sigma\A\P$ and MV are just visible
 No 3 An Antonine coin of Eresus, as the inscription on the obverse shows, on which is Hermes bearded and

PLATE

wearing a petasus on a prow or base to l with a chlamys gathered on his left shoulder. In his r is a caducus and a horn of abundance. The reverse has ΣΑΦΦΩ and shows her sitting to l and holding in her extended right hand a plectrum or a roll. Her left arm rests upon a lyre placed behind her on the seat.

No. 4. The reverse of a hemidrachma of Syracuse now at Paris having the inscription ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ. A female figure stands to l. on what may be a pedestal, with chiton and diploction, the latter being belted behind her like a sail. In her left hand is a small branch of laurel and her right holds a roll half opened on which there seem to be traces of letters. This figure has hitherto been taken to be *Tychē* but S. Mirone gives reasons for supposing that Silanion's statue of Sappho may be here represented. The date is the third century B.C.

No. 5. The reverse of a large brass of Gallienus (A.D. 258-67) on which we read ΕΠΙΒΑΛ ΑΡΙCTOMAXOY ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΑΙΩΝ with Sappho in chiton and peplus seated to r playing on a lyre.

No. 6. The reverse of a coin of Mitylene having on its obverse a beautiful head of Julia Procula, styled like Nausicaa (No. 1) ΗΡΩΙΣ. She may have been the daughter of Flavia Publicia Nicomachis both being benefactresses to the town. On the reverse we have ΕΠΙ C ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΑΙΩΝ with Sappho standing and holding or playing on a lyre placed upon a pillar.

facing p. 150

XIX. This little bronze now in the British Museum came most probably from Magna Graecia, and was originally in the Payne Knight Collection. Its date is about 500 to 488 and so within a century of Sappho's death. The style is archaic and it probably formed part of some ornament.

facing p. 188

A broken sard in the British Museum (No. 556) of a date not later than 400 B.C. A draped female figure possibly Sappho is shown reading from a scroll. In front of her is a pedestal with a lyre upon it. The word ΕΡΩΣ lightly scratched upon it, but not seen in the reproductions seems from the shape of the letters to be a later addition.

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PLATE

XX Sappho in reverie, from a terra cotta relief of Roman times, found in Rome and now in possession of a sculptor there (see Welcker, *Ant Denkm*, v, Taf 7, p 181) facing p 196

Head on an electrum coin of Lesbos, given by Visconti (*Ikonogr Grec*, 1, Taf 3, No 4) p 225

Sappho stepping in the dance with lyre in hand (see p 24) From Wolf's *Sappho*, frontispiece No 4, where the coin is described as *Nummus argenteus ex Hub Goltzii Numismatis Graeciae, tab xiv, insularum Graeciae num 8, qui etiam in Celeb Hemsterhuisii Polluce ad p 1064 repraesentatur* But there appears to be no silver coins with representations of Sappho upon them p 255

The so-called "Sappho" at Vienna, but really Hygicia, as has been shown by Mr Bernard Ashmole, by whose permission I use this photograph Illustration on Jacket.

PREFACE

Tόδε ἐκ Σάπφους αμελγόμενος μέλι τοι φέρω
Bergk *Adesphata* 62

THE object of this book is to provide the general public with a popular yet I hope not unscholarly and a comprehensive edition of Sappho containing all that is so far known of her unique personality and her incomparable poems. No one is more aware than the writer how difficult a task it is to do justice to the subject. But I have endeavoured under some disadvantages to cover the field of research and to make the work as complete as I could. The necessary material however is voluminous and widely scattered and some of it beyond ordinary reach. A proper equipment for the task ought to include a visit to lovely Lesbos but *non curris homini contingit adire Corinthum*.

My sincere acknowledgments are due to my many predecessors whose labours have alone made my own work possible and I wish to express my especial obligations to my old pupil Professor A. S. Hunt for the kind encouragement I have received from him and the permission accorded me by the Egypt Exploration Society to make use of his discoveries among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri and to give a facsimile of the Nereid Ode. Mr Edmonds scholarly edition of Sappho in the *Lyra Graeca* of the Loeb Series has of course been of invaluable service. Mr Lobel's edition has only come out when these pages were in their second proof Professor Schubart, of Berlin has kindly allowed me to use his additional Fragments printed in that edition. In reproducing

objects of art and antiquity, I have received every assistance from Dr G F Hill and Mr A. H. Smith, of the British Museum, and my old friend and pupil, Mr E T Leeds, of the Ashmolean at Oxford, and Mr A B Cook, of the Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge. The great National Museums of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Florence, Rome, and Athens (through Mr Woodward of the British School) have shown me no less courtesy. Nor must I omit the names of Mr Penoyre, Librarian of the Hellenic Society, Mrs Strong, F S A, and Mr. J W E Pearce, who has kindly looked through the proofs, nor of Sir Alfred Mond, who supplied me with photographs of some of his Greek statuary, and Mr Bernard Ashmole, of Oxford, to whom I am similarly indebted.

My excuse for taking this work in hand must be that Mr Wharton's admirable and popular edition is now, owing to our advance in knowledge, out of date, and after serving its generation has, if we may say so without offence, "fallen on sleep," and may fairly give place to another on similar lines. One valuable feature of that edition was the very complete Bibliography, giving all the literature on Sappho up to the date of publication. Readers must not expect to find in the present edition any palmary emendations of the text. These have been for more competent hands to make, but now that Mr Lobel has for the first time established the canons of criticism for what is and what is not allowable in Sappho, the path of emendation is made clearer and safer.

After Joan of Arc Sappho marches at the head of woman-kind, and will repay all the study that can be given her. If this book enables others to know her better, I shall be satisfied.

*Petersfield.
March, 1926*

C. R. HAINES.

INTRODUCTION

*Your praise shall still find room
Even in the eyes of all posterity
That wear this world out to the ending doom*

SHAK Sonnets 55

Σαπφῶαι δὲ μένοντι φίλης ἐπὶ καὶ μενόνοντι
ωδῆς αἱ λευκαὶ φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες

The Remains of Sappho

§ 1 With the possible exception of Shakespeare Homer is still the supreme poet and Sappho without any exception the poetess *κατ ἔξοχην*¹ Not only are these two first in their art but they are also the first in time Homer has fared far better with posterity than Sappho though some centuries older We have his works more or less in full but we know next to nothing about his life With Sappho the case is reversed. The fragments of her poetry that have come down to us are lamentably small but on the other hand we can form some idea of her personality not only from what is said about her here and there by ancient authors but also from the little that we have of her actual writing Aristoxenus² the writer on Greek music tells us that Sappho and Alcaeus made confidants of their books and certainly there is much of a personal nature even in the little that we have of her works Being of a subjective lyrical character they naturally tell us much

¹ Galen, *Prolept.* 8 Anth. Pal. ix 26.

² See Porph. on Hor. *Sat.* II, 1 30 Acron on the same says Anacreon. Willamowitz (*Sappho u. Sim.* p 15 n. 2) prefers Archilochus, which is much more likely

that is of value for a true conception of her personality and life, as well as for a correct appreciation of her genius

§ 2 Suidas informs us that the *μέλη λυρικά* of Sappho were arranged in nine books,¹ and we learn from Servius, the commentator on Vergil, that the Bridal Songs (*ἐπιθαλάμια*) were gathered into a separate book.² It has been thought that there may have been two editions of Sappho current in Alexandrian times, the earlier, according to subject matter, probably arranged by the grammarian Aristophanes in the third century B.C., the other, some half-century later, according to metres, for which Aristarchus, the famous grammarian, was responsible. But we may surely suppose, judging from all likelihood and from the example of Horace, that Sappho herself, if she published her own works,³ followed no such pedantic plan, certainly not that of Aristarchus. I have therefore in this edition without hesitation discarded the metrical arrangement, which has for obvious reasons commended itself to editors hitherto, and have only attempted in a general way to group the fragments according to their generic character, as far as this is discernible.⁴ The broad scheme is this —

Fragments 1-4 stand by themselves, and are put at the beginning,

5-32 refer to Sappho's circle and her social life in general,

¹ Cf. also Anth. Pal. vii, 17, below, p. 221

² On Verg. *Georg.* i, 31, cf. Pseud. Dionys., *Rhet.* (Usener, p. 247) The Book was viii or ix. See Wilam quoted in Pauly-Wissowa

³ She is represented on early vase paintings as reading from a volume of poems, see below, p. 77

⁴ One or two may prove to be in wrong places, but these have been left where they are owing to the labour involved by any displacement of the numbers in the Index

33-55 (except 51 which is out of place and belongs to the section 71-87) are of a personal character
 56-60 have reference to her claims to immortality as a poetess

61-70 give her philosophy of life as far as it remains to us

71-87 her allusions to Nature and its beauties

88-117 cletic poems invocations and references to Deities

118-151 epithalamia or bridal songs in general

152-173 various fragments that do not lend themselves to classification

Where single words only are recorded they will mostly be found in the vocabulary which is meant to contain every word which we possess of Sappho's

§ 3 We know from Fragm 142 that Sappho's first book in the edition followed by the papyrus contained 1320 lines All the four books of the Odes of Horace together with the *Carmen Saeculare* contain only 3 000 lines while the longest book the third has 1 000 lines It is of course possible that Sappho's first book containing all the poems in her favourite Sapphic metre was much longer than the others but even so we cannot suppose her total output to have been less than 8 000 lines Of all this we have to be at present as content as we can with less than the equivalent of 500 lines containing perhaps 2 000 words all told But this is not the worst Even these meagre orts are in some cases full of corruptions and grievously mutilated Many of them if not most have to be patched up or pieced together and the sense eked out by more or less precarious conjectures We have not only to interpret Sappho's dreams but in many cases we are tempted in some well nigh forced to dream them for ourselves

a perilous adventure, not lightly to be undertaken¹ Only two poems, out of perhaps five hundred, have come down to us quite complete in their numbers Fragm 3 probably stood first in the edition of Aristarchus according to metres, and is placed nearly in the same position here It is the famous *Ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφρόδιτα*

Vogue and Subsequent Loss of Sappho's Poems

§ 4 We do not know by what means or through whose agency the poems of Sappho, numerous as they were, came to be collected and published It is not easy to imagine that in such early times she was able to issue an authoritative edition of her own Much of her work, however, must have survived among her friends and pupils of the "House of the Muses",² over which she presided, who were proud of her and cherished her memory Her lyrics soon found their way over Hellas The only contemporary anecdote which we have of Sappho, tells us that Solon, the great Athenian lawgiver, on hearing his nephew at a banquet sing one of Sappho's songs, was so delighted with it that he made the boy teach him the words there and then, and on being asked why he did so, answered "that I may not die before I have learnt it"³ This must have occurred in the first half of the sixth century B C Two hundred years later we find a character in the *Antilais* of Epicrates⁴ claiming to have learnt the songs of Sappho by heart And her songs were still being sung in Cicero's

¹ Mr Edmonds, in his recent edition (*Lyra Graeca*), has attempted it with much skill and ingenuity

² Fragm 61

³ Aelian apud Stobaeum, 29, 58 The words "*Ινα μαθῶν αὐτὸν θάνατον* may mean "that as soon as I have learnt it I may die"

⁴ Athen xiii, 605 E

time¹ in the end of the first century A.D. ² in the second³ and in the third.⁴

How much later the lyrics of Sappho survived to delight mankind is not certainly known. But various indications point to the conclusion that they were not wholly lost to the world till towards the end of the eleventh century of our era. We find quotations from Sappho though not (it appears) from Alcaeus in various grammarians till about that date. Their final loss the most irreparable which we have to deplore in the whole domain of pure literature due as it was partly to the general decadence of learning was accelerated no doubt by the unfamiliar dialect in which Sappho wrote. But we must attribute some share of the lamentable result to the bigoted hostility of the Church. Though the evidence is not quite conclusive we cannot wholly disregard the tradition that the works of Sappho among others came under the ban of the Hierarchy. The ascetic Tatian⁵ had centuries before led the way by a violent attack upon Sappho and her writings in such general terms however as not to make us feel certain that he had any real acquaintance with her works. The public destruction of her writings seems to have taken place first at the end of the fourth century A.D. in the time of Gregory Nazianzen whose tedious if pious works were held to be a suitable and sufficient substitute. *Cardan*⁶ about 1550 is our authority for

¹ Anth. Pal. v. 132 Hor. Od. iv. 9. 11

² Plut. Pyth. Or. 6 Symp. vii. 8, 2 Dion Chrys. ii. 4

³ Gellius. xix. 3

⁴ Athen. xlii. 605 E.

⁵ *Orat. ad Graec.* 53 (circa 180 A.D.) Στρατος γύραντος πορειαν διπεπορειτε κατ τὴν διαρρήσιν δολύματα φέλει. He also calls her τὴν διαπορειαν.

De Sapientia II.

this, and he is partly corroborated by Peter Alcyonius,¹ who states that as a boy he heard from Demetrius Chalcondylas, that under the Byzantine Emperors the ecclesiastical authorities burnt the works of ancient Greek poets, especially those which contained *amores turpes lusus et nequitias amantum*, and he mentions expressly the poems of Sappho, Erinna, Anacreon, Mimnermus, Bion, Alcman, and Alcaeus. Further, Scaliger states that the works of Sappho and the other lyrists were burnt both at Rome and at Constantinople in 1073 under Gregory VII (Hildebrand). In fact, about this time, as above stated, Sappho's works did disappear. But it will still remain a question, why the far more reprehensible writings of Petronius, Martial, and others, not to mention the foul *Puerilia* of Stratton in the Anthology, were still allowed to be copied by the pious hands of monks.

Sources from which Sappho's Poems have been Recovered

§ 5 Infinite pains have been taken by generations of scholars to repair the ravages of time, of ignorance, and of religious bigotry, by recovering every scrap of Sappho that can be found embedded in the whole of past literature. Examination will show that nearly fourscore sources have yielded their quota, here a little and there a little. Not all the extracts thus brought to light, which range from single words to several lines or stanzas, are attributed explicitly to Sappho in the places where they occur, but some, included here,² are conjecturally assigned to her, mostly by general consent, on considerations of dialect, style, and subject.

¹ *De Exilio*, p. 69, Leipzig, 1707, cf. also Blomfield, *Mus. Critic* 1, p. 422.

² Marked with an asterisk.

Until the wonderful discoveries of late years in Egypt there were only two considerable poems by Sappho known to us the Ode to Aphrodite already mentioned and the still more famous lyric to a beloved girl¹ describing in burning words and tumultuous imagery the whole passion of love. But now we have many stanzas and a considerable part of a narrative poem rescued from Egyptian rubbish heaps² the originals of which are mostly in Berlin or London. Unfortunately the owners of these papyrus rolls before throwing them into the waste-papyrus basket mostly tore them across perpendicularly. Consequently the lines are as a rule mutilated at the beginning or end or both³ and in order to extract any coherent sense conjecture unsatisfactory and inconclusive as it always is must necessarily be employed. Even in the parts that remain many letters are so nearly obliterated that guesswork is inevitable⁴.

Yet in spite of all some of the newly recovered fragments such as the two beautiful poems now in Berlin⁵ are a great addition to our knowledge of Sappho and her art. The XVth volume of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt⁶ contains a great number of small fragments of Sappho and also a few lines of a brief life of her a complete copy of which would have been most valuable. From the mention of Chamaeleon⁷

¹ Fragn. 4. The name is apparently not given, unless we accept the emendations of Willamowitz or Edmonds. Catullus in his paraphrase introduces the name *Lesbia* in the second stanza, where Edmonds suggests *Brocheo* or *Brochea* (Attic *Bροχεω* or *Bροχεα*).

² Thus happily contravening the Sapphic maxim, *μὴ κίνει χαράδρος* Fragn. 63.

³ e.g. Fragn. 9 87 107 etc.

⁴ A dot placed under a letter means that it is doubtful a line under a letter or word shows that it is conjecturally added.

⁵ Fragn. 7 8.

⁶ Vol. xv 1787 1788.

⁷ 1800 1 col. 2.

a philosopher and grammarian of the fourth century B C , who wrote a treatise on Sappho,¹ it is probable that the facts recorded by this epitomator were drawn from him. There are still hundreds of similar fragments, as yet undeciphered, in the hands of the same editors, and we may in the course of time look for some other small prizes, snatched from the realms of Orcus, or rather Osiris

§ 6 Next to our obligations to the archæologists of Egypt, and apart from the great debt due to the transmitters to posterity of the two famous Odes,² we owe most to the third-century writer Athenæus in his *Deipnosophistæ*, a book which portrays the subjects discussed at literary banquets of the leading wits of the time. Other writers, who have given valuable extracts from or criticisms of the lost poems are Aristotle, Demetrius the rhetorician, Plutarch, Maximus Tyrius, Dion of Prusa, Galen, and Aristides the Sophist. In the works of the last, whose rhetoric is of a poetical cast, many other reminiscences of Sappho no doubt still lurk, for his great friend Alexander of Cotiæum, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, as we know, lectured on Sappho. The shorter quotations, which have been salved, many of them being of a mere verbal or grammatical character and consisting of single words, are from various writers on grammar and metre, and contribute little of any value for Sappho's poetry or her biography.³ Extant scholiasts to the ancient Greek writers supply us with nearly fifty quotations from Sappho, given for the purposes of illustration.⁴

¹ Athen. xiii, 599 C, *Tὸ περὶ Σαπφοῦς*

² Fragm. 3, 4

³ Mr J A Symonds has the hardihood to affirm that the smallest fragments are "perfect"

⁴ A good many of these may be drawn from Didymus Chalcenterus

Sappho and the Latin Poets

§ 7 Among Latin writers we find most familiarity with Sappho in Catullus Horace and perhaps Ovid Martial also mentions her twice or thrice Catullus had more of the Greek genius than any other Latin poet and in his lyrical art was more akin to Sappho In several places even in the little that has come down to us of Sappho we can detect where Catullus has imitated her and he has left us a translation¹ if it be not rather a paraphrase of the famous *Palveral* μοι κῆρος ode which he addresses to his mistress Lesbia a name obviously reminiscent of Sappho Had we all Sappho's poems before us we should certainly find many more parallels between the two writers He has said nothing against her in his poems and he calls her *docta* i.e skilled in her art.²

Horace bases his main scheme of lyric poetry on Alcaeus and Sappho though Alcaeus is certainly his favourite He has several more or less direct reminiscences of Sappho³ and of course alludes to her by name more than once Such poems as the Chloe dialogue and the lines to Neobule⁴ in the *Ionic a minore* metre may look back to Sapphic originals He evidently had a high admiration for her and sets her with Alcaeus among the Shades in the abodes of the Blest.⁵ There is nothing to her discredit to be found in his works The word

¹ A very poor affair in spite of Swinburne's ridiculous eulogy a more beautiful translation there never was and will never be "!

² Catull. 35. 16 cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 235b (= Ael. VH xli, 19) Max. Tyrius viii 90 Martial *Epigr.* vii, 89. 10 x, 35. 16, speaks of her as *docta*, but reflects on her chastity Terent. Maur calls her *doctissima* (*De Metris*); so also Mar. Victor HI 5. 4.

Odes i, 28. 1 iv 9. 11 *Epist.* i, 19. 28.

⁴ *Ibid.* *Od.* iii, 9 and iii, 12.

⁵ The only real persons there

*mascula*¹ applied to her, which some have so pitifully tried to interpret in an evil sense against her, obviously—surely obviously—describes her poetry only, as the whole point of the comparison with Archilochus is in connexion with their respective literary styles Sappho, says Horace, softens the muse of Archilochus, but not so as to make it effeminate²

One would have expected Ovid to show admiration for Sappho and familiarity with her works But except in a line or two here and there in the Epistle of Sappho to Phaon,³ which is possibly, but not certainly, by him, we find in Ovid very little trace of her work⁴ He mentions her several times, it is true, as an erotic teacher, and the meaning is curiously ambiguous in one or two of these passages He charges her with *lascivia*, but this need not necessarily have a wholly bad meaning⁵ For Apuleius,⁶ defending himself against the charge of writing *ludicos et amatorios versus*, retorts that Anacreon and Simonides and Alcman had done the same, and Sappho too, she indeed *lascive* and with such exquisite grace, that by the sweetness of her songs she reconciles us to their unaccustomed dialect Here the word does not seem to require any worse signification than “sportive”

¹ Ausonius, *Idylls*, vi, 24, also calls her *mascula*, but he has one eye on Statius, *Silvae*, v, 3, 154 (*viriles*), and the legendary leap from Leucate

² See Wilam, *Sappho u Simonides*, p 17, note, and Porphyron on the passage

³ *Heroid* xv, for a translation see below

⁴ *pace* Lunák

⁵ *Ars Amat* iii, 331, *Remed Am* 761, *Trist* ii, 365, cf *Am* ii, 18, 26, and 34 In the last two passages he calls her *Lesbis amica*, and *Lesbis amata*, and apparently refers to the Epistle (or an Epistle) of Sappho to Phaon, *Heroid* xv, 19, 201

⁶ *Apol* 9

The Sappho cult still ran high in the second and third centuries A.D. The last personality of the ancient world with whom we can connect the name of Sappho was the emperor Julian. From his references to her works and his twice calling her $\eta\; καλή\; Σαπφώ$ the exquisite Sappho we see that she was an especial favourite with him the last of the Graeco-Romans.

No Probability of recovering Sappho's Complete Works

§ 8 That a complete copy of Sappho's poems should ever be recovered is now almost beyond the bounds of possibility. The sarcophagus of a lover of Greek learning in Egypt or a poet's library in buried Herculaneum is the only place we can look to for such a joyous resurrection unless we put any faith in the hazy tradition that in the Kubbet-el Khazneh or Dome of the Treasure at Damascus were promiscuously heaped together at the time of the Arab Conquest all the books of Greek learning found in Damascus to remain and rot there unopened ever since.

Life of Sappho

§ 9 But let us pass on now to what is known authentically about Sappho's life. She was born as is most probable at Eresus¹ on the west coast of the island of Lesbos. But she is usually spoken of as a Mitylenaean² and there can be little doubt that the main part of her life was lived at Mitylene. Possibly

¹ So Dioscorides (Anth. Pal. vii, 407) and Suidas, *sub voc.* Her effigy on the coins of Eresus cannot be explained in any other way. Tradition also is said to support this theory. But Athen. xlii, 598 says that the Sappho of Eresus was a courtesan and not the poet.

² e.g. Herod. iii, 125. Moschus, iii, 92. Strabo xiii, 617. Athen. x, 425 A. Ox. Pap. 1800. Par. Marble 38. Schol. *Phaedrus* 235 C. ib., *Pindari Vita*. Anth. Pal. vii, 17. xvi, 310 (vii, 14 407 ix, 68 189). Pollux ix, 84.

on the death of her parent, when she was six, the family migrated thither

§ 10 Her father's name was most probably Skamandronymus (sometimes shortened into Skamandrus or Skamon),¹ and her mother's Kleis² We do not know the year, nor even the approximate year, in which Sappho was born, but it must, we may suppose, have been during the ninth decade of the seventh century B C³ She had three brothers, all, probably, junior to her, of whom Charaxus was the eldest, Eurygyus the second, and the youngest, her favourite, Larichus⁴ We know nothing of the last-named, except that Sappho "often sang his praises" in his capacity of cup-bearer at the civic feasts of the Mitylenaeans, at which we may suppose that Sappho also might be present, in their Town Hall This office, we know from Athenaeus,⁵ was reserved for well-born and comely youths We learn nothing more of Eurygyus, but there was a later Mitylenaeon of similar name, and son of a Larichus, in the time of Alexander⁶ As the conjunction of names seems to show that he was of Sappho's blood, we see a chance of the Sappho tradition being kept up in Mitylene for more than 200 years

§ 11 Charaxus, the elder brother, is mentioned by several writers Much to Sappho's disgust he contracted

¹ Suidas gives six or seven alternatives, with further MS variations Eurygyus is the only possible competitor to Skamandronymus (cf also Schol, *Pind Vit*), which latter we find in Herod ii, 135, Schol Plato, *Phaedr* 235 C, Ael, *VH* xii, 19, Ox Pap 1800

² So Suidas and the Schol *Pind Vit* Fragm 53 is so like a folksong that we cannot be sure that $\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho$ means Sappho's mother

³ See Athen xii, 599 Euseb places her *floruit* in the 42nd Olympiad (B C 599-596)

⁴ Ox Pap 1800

⁵ ix, 424 E, cf Eustath Hom, *Iliad*, xx, 234 (Schol Vict)

⁶ Arrian, iii, 6, 5

a liaison with a beautiful courtesan of Naucratis in Egypt, named Doricha¹ also perhaps nicknamed Rhodōpis or Rosy-cheeks He redeemed her from slavery at a great cost married her and had children by her Charaxus traded between Lesbos and Naucratis in the native Lesbian wine which was famous in antiquity According to Ovid and Athenaeus Charaxus impoverished himself by his lavish expenditure on Doricha, and Ovid implies that his trade taken up to recoup himself was not a reputable one Sappho took him severely to task for his infatuation which brought disgrace on his family and was an object of derision to his enemies The beautiful epigram of Posidippus (about 250 B C) deserves to be quoted here —

Thy bones O Doricha are dust long long ago
 Thy robe that breathed of scent the band about thy hair
 Thou who of yore didst clasp Charaxus young and fair
 And breast to breast with him didst taste the morning
 wine

But the white pages of sweet Sappho's song are thine
 They live and ever shall live speaking to the ear
 Thy happy name which Naukratis shall still hold dear
 While sea borne ships o'er Nile's lagoons pass to and fro

§ 12 Sappho was married says Suidas to a certain Kerkylas or Kerkolas a very rich man who hailed from Andros Some suppose but on somewhat flimsy grounds this name to be a fictitious and ribald appellation taken from the comic poets who (it is conjectured)

¹ Suidas under *Alcaeon* says she was a Thracian but Athen. xlii, 596 implies that she was of Naucratis (freyer) Herodotus gives an account of her ii, 135 see also Ovid, *Heroid.*, xv 63, 117 Posidippus in Athenaeus above-quoted Strabo, xvii 808 Suidas, συν Ποσειδίππος διηθεῖα, and Phot. *Lxx* ibid. Fragments 9 10 and possibly 11

Athen. xlii, 596 C Wilamowitz Sappho und Simonides p 19

held Sappho up to shame and ridicule on the comic stage. But beyond such titles of comedies as *Sappho*, *Phaon*, and *Leucadius*, there is nothing to support this idea.¹ We hear of only one child as the result of this marriage, a daughter named Kleïs.²

§ 13 Beside the affair of Charaxus, the only incident in Sappho's life of which we have any certain record, is her sojourn in Sicily, mentioned on the Parian Marble, which in its present condition simply says that Sappho sailed from Mitylene to Sicily as an exile.³ But we do not know whether she was banished and, if so, why, or went into voluntary exile. The subsequent words on the Marble, which might have cleared up this point, are mutilated, but the conjecture of Mr Edmonds, <τὸ δεύτερον, as if this were her second exile, is neat and has something to be said for it. If correct, however, what of her first exile? Mr Edmonds is ready for the question, and refers us to a marginal note on a papyrus fragment of Alcaeus at Berlin.⁴ The Berlin editors profess to read only two *scholia* to this text, but a third, whose existence they admit, but fail to read it, is given though dubiously by Mr Edmonds thus αὐτὸν τὸν ποιήτην καὶ τὸν Αντιμενίδαν αἰδελφὸν σύντρα τοῦ Αλκαίου καὶ τηνας ἄλλους. The second *scholion* speaks of a prior banishment of Alcaeus and his friends (including Phanias?), for an unsuccessful plot against Myrsilus, to Pyrrha in Lesbos. If we can place any sufficient reliance on the above reading of lines, which are confessedly almost indecipher-

¹ For a discussion of these plays see below, p. 27

² Ovid, *Heroid* xv, 70, 120, and Suidas. See also Fragm. 54, 61 (? 55)

³ If the date was about 598 B.C., as Edmonds thinks, Sappho was probably young

⁴ Berl. Klassiker Texte, 5, 2, 12

able we shall have to associate Sappho with Alcaeus and other opponents of the autocratic régime in their enforced seclusion at Pyrrha. This *if true* might throw some much needed light upon a line in Ovid's *Epistle*¹

Nec me Pyrrhiares Methymniadesve puellæ
Nec me Lesbiadum cetera turba iuvant

which unexpectedly brings Sappho into connexion with the Maidens of Pyrrha. It is a curious if but slight coincidence that early coins of Pyrrha bear a female head similar to those which appear on the coins of Mitylene and are commonly associated with Sappho.

§ 14 But Sappho probably junior in age to Alcaeus would have been somewhat young at this period. The only allusion to political affairs in her extant fragments is one which has quite recently come to light on one of the Oxyrhynchus leaves² where the Lesbian clan composed of the descendants of Penthilus is mentioned. Pittacus the famous Mussolini of Mitylene was connected with this clan by his marriage with the sister of Dracon the son of Penthilus.

§ 15 It is not known where Sappho resided in Sicily on her retirement thither. Ovid³ makes her apostrophize the Megarian maids and Megarian mothers as if the Sicilian Megara were to be her destination in case of a flight to Sicily. But Syracuse seems in every way the more likely spot for her residence. It was the most important city on the island and the mention on the Parian Marble of the Gamori or Junkers as ruling in that city at the time seems only relevant.

¹ *Heroid. xv* 15. Some MSS. give another (corrupt) reading here
Nec mihi Pyrino subeunt Mnaisve puella where neither name nor
grammar is tolerable (Pyrino = Gyrinno and Mnais = Mnasidika (?))

² *Fragm. 38.*

³ *Heroid. xv* 54.

if it relegated Sappho thither. We know, too, that at a later time Syracuse prided itself on possessing a fine statue of Sappho which had a place of honour in the Town Hall¹

With the exception of this stay in Sicily, probably of no long duration, Sappho's life, as far as we know, was passed in Lesbos and mainly at Mitylene. However, she may well have travelled on the mainland of Asia, and more especially visited Sardis and Phocaea²

Sappho and her Environment

§ 16 Sappho, even more than her elder contemporary Alcaeus, was the glory of Lesbos, $\tauὸ\ \muελιχρὸν\ αὐχημα\ Λεσβίων$, as Lucian³ calls her, coupling her name with those of the martial Telesilla and the philosophic Theano. As all great writers in some way are, she must have been the product of her age and environment and the mouthpiece of the tendencies and ideals of her time. In appraising her character and achievements, we must therefore take into account, so far as we can discover them, the racial antecedents, the social conditions, and the natural features of her native Lesbos.

§ 17 This island, which has been called the "pearl of the \mathbb{A} gean", was colonized at different times by various races, the ancient Pelasgians so-called, the Carians from the mainland, and the Aeolians and Achaeans from Greece proper. The word *Aeolian* is itself said to signify a "mixed" race. How far Sappho herself

¹ S. Mirone has tried to show with some success in the *Revue Numismatique*, vol. lv, ser. iv, p. 16, that a Syracusean coin bears on its reverse the representation of this statue of Sappho. See Plate iv, 5, 6, 7. *Cic.*, *Verr* ii, 4, 57.

² See Fragments 6₂, 6₃, 8₁₃, 54₃, 97₄, 141₃, 147₂.

³ *Amores*, 30, cf. Aristides, 'Επ' 'Αλεξάνδρω, § 152, Aristotle, *Rhet* 1398 B.

was of pure Greek descent is not known. The point will be further discussed in connexion with her personal appearance.

Lesbos was renowned from early times for its beauty, fertility and exquisite climate¹. The wine of Lesbos² and its figs were famous for their excellence and the barley of Eresus³ figures on its coinage. Homer singles out the Lesbian women as the most beautiful in the world⁴ and the concubine of Achilles the rosy-cheeked Briseis⁵ was probably from Lesbos as well as her understudy the daughter of the Lesbian Diomede. The elegance of their dancing is praised in connexion with Sappho by an anonymous writer⁶. Antipater of Thessalonika calls Sappho the glory of Lesbian women of the lovely tresses⁷ tied with a purple band⁸. Contests were held in Lesbos not only for beauty (*καλλιστεία*) in the temple of Hera but also for *οἰκονομία* and *σωφροσύνη*⁹. It was pre-eminently the home of dance¹⁰ and lyric song and legend symbolized its supremacy in music by telling that the head and lyre of Orpheus were carried from the mouth of the Hebrus to Lesbos¹¹. Moreover it

¹ Pliny *NH* v. 31. Diod. Sic. v. 82.

² Verg. *Georg* ii, 90. Ovid *Ars Am.* i, 57. Strabo, 808. Athen. iii, 92. xl, 42.

Athen. iii 111 F

³ *Iliad*, ix, 129. 271

⁴ *Iliad* i, 322. T G. Tucker (Sappho Melbourne 1914 p. 13) says: "Artistically the distinguishing mark of the Lesbians as represented in Homer was their clear open-eyed original observation of essentials, their veracity of description, their dislike of the indefinite and the mystic." The source of this statement I have not traced.

Anth. Pal. ix, 189 see below p. 184

⁵ Anth. Pal. ix 26

⁶ Anth. Pal. vi 211

Athen. xlii 610 A.

⁷ Anth. Pal. vii, 718 ix, 189

⁸ His gory visage down the stream was sent,

Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore — Milton's *Lycidas*.

was the home of Terpander, the founder of Greek music, and Arion the incomparable harpist and dithyrambist. It was in every way fitting that the tenth muse should come from such a home. As Plato so gracefully puts it—

The Muses are but nine, say some,
 how carelessly!
 Can they not see
Sappho, the tenth, from Lesbos come?¹

The Aeolian Race

§ 18 In the seventh century B.C. the Aeolians of Lesbos were a vigorous and gifted race, brave in war, enterprising in trade, vehement in politics, eminent in poetry and music.² They had the sense to see, as the Italians in our own day had the sense to see, that a dictator is sometimes the only salvation for a state given over to the selfish quarrels of partisans, and our sympathies go with Pittacus in his stand for justice, tranquillity, and order. He seems to us a far finer character, in the field of politics, than Alcaeus, whose politics were not on a par with his poetry, though they lend it interest and vividness. Even if Alcaeus were not a lover of Sappho, as some have thought, the two were certainly friends, and the possibility is that Sappho shared his views to some extent, even if she did not suffer banishment for her opinions. Her exile, if such it really was, cannot have been of long duration. Alcaeus, as we know, returned from exile, and accepting the situation made his peace with Pittacus.

¹ Anth. Pal. iv, 506

² They at one time conquered a part of the Troad, and disputed in her ambitions not unsuccessfully with Athens herself. The Asiatic Aeolians were of much inferior fibre, see Athen. xiv, 624 (quoting from Herachides Ponticus).

PLATE II



MUTYLENE. THE SOUTHERN HARBOUR
(By kind permission of Mr. J. M. May)

Position of Women in Lesbos

§ 19 In one all important point the Aeolians of Lesbos afforded a great contrast to the Ionians and Dorians namely in the position held by women in their country. These seem not to have been secluded as at Athens and among the Ionians generally where as we know the less women were seen in public and the less they were talked about the better were they thought of.¹ Only the refined and intellectual courtesan an Aspasia or a Phryne could in Athens live any sort of free life. Nor were the Lesbian women brought up as were the Dorian under discipline and strict rules of conduct for the primary purpose of becoming robust breeders for the men and bearing to them vigorous children worthy to be Spartan citizens. On the one hand no harem system appears nor on the other a kultur of eugenics based on the training of gymnasium or palestra. The women of Lesbos lived it seems, a natural life as they did in ancient Egypt and were the equals of men in social opportunity if not in mental capacity. But the modern tendency for women to become as far as possible duplicates of men had no place among the Aeolians or any other Greeks. To push anything to extreme lengths was abhorrent to the Greek genius. It seemed to them as it is bad taste. The Aeolian women were content to compete with men in all arts that were common to both sexes. They had no wish to unsex themselves. The duties of wife and mother were still the accepted rôle.²

Sappho's Vocation

§ 20 Sappho as we have seen married and had a daughter. Probably her husband died when Kleis

¹ Thuc. II, 45

In later times Lesbian women acquired a very evil reputation. See Athen x, 443 A Lucian, *Dial Merestr* 5

was quite small,¹ and Sappho took up a profession, of which we hear nearly for the first time, though no doubt it existed in the world long before. She conducted a sort of academy for the instruction of girls in poetry, music, singing, and dancing,² in fact in the culture of all physical and mental graces. Part of her work no doubt was the organizing and conducting of processional dances and songs for the festivals of the gods. Such a scene is depicted in an anonymous epigram.³

To mild-eyed Hera's glorious temple go,
Ye Lesbian maids, and delicately there
Weave the fair dance for her, and Sappho so
With golden lyre in hand shall set the air,
That in the joy of that glad dance ye say,
Surely Kalliope herself doth play.⁴

This establishment is called *Μοισσοπόλων οἰκία*,⁵ the House of the Lovers of the Muses. It became no doubt the centre of a literary coterie, or salon, as well as a house of instruction. If the words of the fragment quoted can be pressed, it might seem that Sappho died in the building where she presided. Incidentally, we learn a few facts about this literary circle. Sappho's connexion with the friends and pupils whom she gathered round her is compared by Maximus Tyrius⁶ to the *τέχνη ἐρωτική* of Socrates, as described by Plato. Here it may be remarked that, since Maximus, a philosopher of high character and noble sentiments,

¹ See Ovid, *Heroid* xv, 70

² Nossis (Anth. Pal. vii, 718) calls Mitylene *καλλιχόρος*, the city of the fair dances

³ Anth. Pal. ix, 189

⁴ Miss Patrick, in her *Sappho*, p. 106, holds that she and her pupils formed a thiasos or religious society for the worship of Aphrodite

⁵ Fragm. 61. Or read *Μοισσοπόλω* "that serves the muses"

⁶ xxiv, 24

certainly regards the love of Socrates for his friends and pupils Alcibiades and Charmides and Phædrus as perfectly innocent in fact as Platonic he must be crediting Sappho with feeling the same pure affection¹ for her friends and disciples Gynnno² and Atthus³ and Anactoria.⁴ He adds that both Socrates and Sappho claimed to love (*έραν*) many friends and to be attracted by all beautiful things⁵

§ 21 Besides the three named above we hear from Suidas of Telesippa and Megara Gongyla of Colophon⁶ and Euneica of Salamis Mnasidika, or Dika is named twice by Sappho⁷ and Hero (of Gyara?) once⁸ Ovid adds Cydro (or Cydno)⁹ and in a corrupt reading Mnais¹⁰ Damophyla appears in Philostratus's life of Apollonius Timas in a probably spurious epigram¹¹ and Erinna of Teos or Telos or Tenos has been cited by Suidas but probably in error¹² as a pupil of Sappho The elder poetess of the name may have been a contemporary of Sappho In a poem she calls herself (if the epigram

¹ Cf. also *Plut. Lycurgus*, 18.

² Max. *Tyr* xxiv 9 *Fragn.* 16.

³ Max. *Tyr* xxiv 9 Suidas *Fragn.* 6, 18, 19

⁴ Max. *Tyr* xxiv 9 *Fragn.* 8, Suidas (?) — *Anagora* of Miletus) Anactoria is said to be a name for Miletus — *Anagora* then might be the name and Anactoria — the Milesian Ovid, *Her* xv 17 (v. J. Amynthone)

⁵ Themistius (*Or* 13) however blames Sappho and Anacreon for unmeasured or rather immeasurable eulogies of their darlings. It is not altogether to her credit that Sappho is so often coupled with Anacreon. E.g. *Dion Chrys.*, *Or* ii, 24 Apul. *Apol* 9 *Plut. Symp.* vii, 8 2 *Aul. Gall.* xix, 3 *Athen.* xiv 639 A.

⁶ *Fragn.* 5 21

⁷ *Fragn.* 18 12.

⁸ *Fragn.* 20

Ovid, *Heroid.* xv 17

⁹ Ovid *Heroid.* xv 15 and Choeroboscus (Corn. Cop. Aldi, 288b) Wilam. introduces Mnasis into *Fragn.* 97

¹⁰ Given below p. 178.

¹¹ In *Fragn.* 22 we find Eirena or Eranna alluded to.

is genuine) *συνεταιρίς* of Baucis, the Mitylenaean. She died at 17, and her fame rested upon an epic poem on "The Spindle." An epigram compares her to Sappho—

Sappho excelled Erinna in her lyric verse,
As far as she did Sappho in hexameters

The two names, Nikopolis¹ and Kallis, which appear in the painting on the Athenian hydria depicted in the illustration (p. 76), are probably only conventional Athenian names of the fifth century B.C. Sappho had two rivals in her vocation, with whom Maximus compares the sophists Prodicus, Gorgias, and the others as rivals of Socrates. Sappho's competitors were Gorgo and Andromeda,² for the latter of whom Atthis, one of her favourites, deserted her. But, no doubt, Sappho was held in far greater estimation than they were, and we can see how great her fame as a personality and an instructress must have been, when we consider from what distant parts of the Greek world pupils came to be with her.

Unfounded Charges against Sappho's Character

§ 22 It is necessary at this point to say a few words—and they shall be as few as possible—on the subject of the charges so often made and so widely believed against Sappho's moral character. These, brutally put, are—

(i) That her liking for her girl friends was an impure affection, such as in later days was from its supposed prevalence in Lesbos branded as Lesbianism³ Suidas,

¹ See below, p. 76. The second and third letters read more like Ε and Η on the vase.

² Fragm. 14, 17, 39, 110.

³ See Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides*, p. 73, note.

speaking of Atthis Megara and Telesippa merely says πρὸς ας καὶ διαβολῆς σοχτες αισχρας φίλας He evidently does not endorse it A fragment of a biography of Sappho (based perhaps on Chamaeleon's treatise)¹ recently found in Egypt² εἴναι κατηγόρηται να εἴναι ως ατακτος ούτα τοι τροποι καὶ γνωσκερδόστρια Ovid is the earliest witness against Sappho saying in his *Epistle to Phaon*—

Atque alit centum quas non sine crimine umavi³
and

Lesbides infamem quae me fecistiis amore
and

Nota sit et Sappho quid enim lascivius illa?⁴
and

Lesbia quid docuit Sappho nisi amate puellas?⁵
There is further a *scholion* of Porphyron on Horace *Ep* i 9 28 *vel quia tribas dissimilatur esse* Voilà tout! This is all that the muck rake can crape together from the dirt heaps of the past on this particular charge

(2) That Sappho was a courtesan in plain Biblical language a harlot Tatian as we have seen above roundly calls her so *etrupa* is his term The ambiguity of this word which is used in its old and innocent sense of friend or comrade by Sappho⁶ may have misled

¹ Cf. also Tatian, *Orat ad Graec* 53 quoted above

² Ox. Pap 1800 dating from the end of second or beginning of third century. We may recall the fact that even Socrates was accused of vice with his pupils see Lucian *De Domo* 4 Juvenal II, 10 cf. Athenaeus v chaps. 12 and 61

³ But the best MS has *hic* for *non* and *crimine* means rather *the go* than wrong-doing

⁴ *Ars Amat* III, 331. *Lascivus* need not have a wholly bad meaning; cf. *Apol.*, *Apol* 9 also of Sappho. See § 7 above

⁵ *Trist* II, 385. The Latin is ambiguous. It may mean "teach girls to love" cf. *Rem Am* 781

⁶ *Fragen* 34 89 111 1-8 Athen. xiii 57 discusses this question in connexion with two of these passages.

readers From Seneca's scornful allusion to a tract by Didymus Chalcenterus on the question *An Sappho publica fuerit?*¹ we gather that it was a trivial and useless subject of discussion¹

(3) That she conceived a frantic love for a beautiful youth named Phaon, lived for a time as his mistress, and when deserted by him threw herself from the Leucadian Cliff, whether being drowned there or thus curing herself of her infatuation is not clearly stated

Now in the first place, these charges are mutually destructive If Sappho was addicted to Lesbianism, a vice which was not associated with Lesbos till much later, she could not well have qualified for a successful courtezan—a κάλον δαμόσιον, as she calls such a one The instincts of a courtezan lie in quite a different direction Again, the supposed passion for Phaon precludes by its intensity and youthful character, let alone what we may suppose to have been its fatal termination, indulgence in the infamies with which she is charged A complete explanation for the courtezan story is found in the fact recorded by several writers, but derided by most moderns, that there was another Sappho in Lesbos, a courtezan, who was also a ψάλτρια and possibly, too, a lyrist² No doubt she was subsequent to the real Sappho This seems a perfectly simple origin for the tale, and certainly does not merit the incredulity with which it has been treated It is more than likely that the name Sappho was in earlier as it was certainly in later times appropriated by the votaries of Aphrodite Pandemos

¹ Seneca, *Epist* 88

² *Sappho* (2) and Φάων in Suidas Athen viii, 596, says on the authority of Nymphis (or Nymphiodorus), fourth century B C, that this other Sappho, a courtezan, was of Eresus Cf Hesych Miles, 36, and Photius σ. v. Λευκάτης In Anth Pal v, 246, we have a courtezan named Sappho mentioned

The Phaon Story

§ 23 The Sappho-Phaon legend—it is nothing better than a fable—has permeated literature to a far greater extent owing to its picturesqueness and to Ovid's if it be Ovid's characteristic treatment of it in the familiar Epistle to Phaon. A translation of this has for convenience been placed at the end of the present volume.¹ Phaon can in no sense be considered a historical character. The fables about him are so various and so absurd. Those which relate to the aged ferryman beloved by Aphrodite and those which tell of the youthful Phaon with whom Sappho was infatuated have little connexion with one another. Phaon the Shining One is redolent of myth and has been identified by some with Phaethon or Adonis.² Sappho mentions Phaethon in a newly discovered Fragment³ but we have no evidence corroborating the statement of Palaephatus that Sappho often made songs about her love for Phaon. Wilamowitz⁴ considers this a later Byzantine addition but it is more likely that *αδρῆς* in this passage means Aphrodite and not Sappho⁵ so that what Palaephatus states is that Sappho wrote lyrics about the love of Aphrodite for Phaon. Nothing could be more likely than this as the Phaon legend was connected with Lesbos and Aphrodite was the presiding goddess of Sappho's poetry.

¹ Pope's translation was useless for this purpose, as it leaves out many lines and is more in the nature of a paraphrase.

² The story of Phaon being hid by Aphrodite among lettuces is told also of Adonis. See Aelian, *VH* xii, 17 Athen. ill, 69 110

³ Sappho and Simonides p 33 ff. where the whole Phaon legend is dealt with at length.

⁴ See J. M. F. Bascoul *La Charte Sappho*

The Leucadian Leap

§ 24 With the relegation of Sappho's Phaon¹ to the realm of fable falls the whole story, as far as it concerns her, of the Leucadian leap. There are so many inconsistencies and improbabilities about the entire tale, that no reliance whatever can be placed upon it. Menander² is the first author who attributes the leap to Sappho, but he only reports it as hearsay (*λέγεται* is his word), and he discredits his own statement by asserting that Sappho was the first to try the leap. For Stesichorus, Sappho's contemporary, makes Calyce³ leap earlier, and says nothing of Sappho. Nor does Anacreon,⁴ who used the expression as a proverbial one. Charon of Lampsacus⁵ gave the priority to Phobus of Phocaea, and Strabo says that the ancients gave it to Cephalus. Ovid begins the series of love-sick jumpers with Deucalion, than which absurdity can no further go. Statius,⁶ Alciphron,⁷ Ausonius,⁸ Photius (but he gives Sappho the hetæra as an alternative), all attribute the leap to Sappho (not necessarily as the first to take it). But Photius⁹ elsewhere, giving a list from Ptolemy, the son of Hephaestion, of all those who leapt, does not mention Sappho, and Servius,¹⁰

¹ There was apparently a legend current in Lesbos of the love of Philomela for Phaon. See Schöne, *Untersuch. ü. d. Leben d. Sappho*. Cf. Lunák, *Sapphicae Quaest.*, p. 80 n.

² Strabo, *λ.* 452. It is not always noticed that the words *οὐ δὴ λέγεται πρώτη Σαπφώ*, being in anapaestic metre, should be added to the quotation from Menander.

³ Athen. xiv, 619 D

⁴ Bergk, 19

⁵ Plut., *De Virt. Mul.* 18

⁶ Silv. v, 3, 154

⁷ vi, 1

⁸ Idyll. vi, 24, cf. *Epiogr.* 92, 13

⁹ Photius *s.v.* Λευκάτης, and § 190

¹⁰ Ad Verg., *Aen.* iii, 279

after an account of Phaon and Aphrodite and the desire of women for Phaon's love adds *one* of these was said to have jumped from the cliff. He says nothing about Sappho. Turpilius who wrote plays modelled on Menander in one called *Leucadia* calls Phaon's lover Dorcium. All these are damning facts against Sappho's connexion with Phaon and not less so that no knowledge of it is shown by Herodotus or Aristotle or the early writers in general or by Plutarch or Galen.

Sappho and the Later Comedy

§ 25 Most critics have attributed the ill fame that gathered round the name of Sappho to the poets of the Middle and New Comedy but it must be confessed that there is little positive evidence for this. In the Old Comedy we find Cratinus mentioning Phaon in connexion with Aphrodite¹ while Plato the comic writer wrote a *Phaon* at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.—we may suppose on the same subject of the legendary Phaon—but he introduces into the play a Leucadian named Philoxenus². As far as we know it was Ameipsias who in the transition stage between the Old and the Middle Comedy first wrote a *Sappho*³. Of the Middle Comedy writers Antiphanes wrote a *Sappho*⁴ and a *Phaon* and a *Leucadius*⁵. In the first of these he introduces Sappho as composing and solving riddles in verse. Lunák denies that the Phaon of Antiphanes was our Phaon as a Pythagorean is brought

¹ *Athen.* II, 70.

² *Athen.* I, 5. He may or may not be the poet. Only one word of this survives, viz. *τασπότερος*.

³ Pollux, x, 40, says he used *ταλ* &c. in his *Phaon*—*ασεπει* & *επει* *Εωφοτ*. This may mean of course, as in Sappho, but better possibly as in his *Sappho*.

⁴ Or *Leucas*.

into the play. There appears to be a Phaon, who was a Pythagorean, in the *Tarentines* of Alexis. A little later Ephippus wrote a *Sappho*, but we know nothing of it.¹ Timocles and Amphis, also poets of the Middle Comedy of Alexander's time, wrote each a *Sappho* play, and the latter a *Leucas*.² also Diphilus, of the New Comedy, treated the same theme, and regardless of chronology represented Archilochus and Hippônax as lovers of Sappho.³ Menander, of the New Comedy, refers, as we have seen, to Sappho and the leap from the Leucadian cliff in his *Leucadia*. So much for the meagre light thrown on this subject by the little that we have of the later writers of Comedy at Athens.

Improbability of the Charges against Sappho.⁴

§ 26 The great unlikelihood of Sappho having been a shameless and abandoned woman will be apparent from the following facts. She belonged to a respectable family of good descent in Lesbos, as we know from the office which her brother Larichus held at Mitylene. She married, probably in early life, a wealthy man and had a daughter, who lived with her and was cherished as the apple of her eye.⁵ She died, as it seems, in her own House of the Muses,⁶ and was buried in Mitylene.⁷ Girls from various parts of the Greek world came to her for instruction, with the consent, we may suppose, of their friends and relations. She was commissioned to write wedding songs for friends and strangers, to

¹ Athen. xiii, 572.

² Athen. vii, 277, 339 C.

³ Athen. xi, 487, 599.

⁴ See Wilam., *Sappho u. Simonides*, p. 73.

⁵ Fragm. 54.

⁶ Fragm. 61.

⁷ Anth. Pal. vii, 17.

organize and conduct religious processions in honour of Hera, and she wrote hymns to Artemis the chaste Goddess of Marriage.¹ Is it conceivable that a woman of infamous character could have done all this? Her countrymen honoured her says Aristotle though she was a woman. Would he not have added *καὶ ασελγῆς* had she been so? Aristides and Lucian look upon her as an honour to her native country. Her head was put upon the coins of Eresus and Mitylene. Alcaeus her contemporary calls her pure (*αὕτη*). She is spoken of with praise or without a word of blame by such men as Solon Herodotus Plato Aristotle Dionysius of Halicarnassus by the Author of the treatise on the Sublime Demetrius Plutarch Dion of Prusa.² Lucian Galen and Julian Athenaeus had her poems by heart and though he mentions her very frequently rather defends her than speaks evil of her. Only the impure minds of Ovid and Martial tried to drag her down to their own level.

Evidence of Her Own Works

§ 27 Take again the evidence of her own works. There is not a gross or objectionable word to be found in the whole of her extant fragments. The utmost that can be brought against her is that in her Ode to Aphrodite she speaks of her frantic affection (*φιλότης* not *ερωτ*) for another girl and this too in more playful than passionate terms and that in the other great Ode she describes in words of the intensest and almost

¹ Fragn. 117

² He does, however say that her love poems were not suitable for kings to sing (B. 24). Plot. (*Symp* vii 8 2) after censuring the practice of discussing Plato over the wine, says that even when Sappho is recited (*διαδεξαμένης*? sung cf. Athen. xlii, 598) or the Odes of Anacreon, he is constrained to set down his cup also *μεντος*

sublime passion the feelings of a lover, not necessarily herself, though she assumes the rôle, at seeing a rival, a man (of no definite individuality, as ὅττις shows) sitting beside a girl in a position of privileged intimacy. Opinions must differ, but it is clearly legitimate to regard the poem as objective. Some even suppose it to be part of a wedding song¹. Unfortunately we do not seem to have the poem complete, and Catullus, in his translation, provokingly breaks off at the crucial point to speak of his own affairs. There is nothing whatever coarse or prurient in the stanzas we have². Plutarch, it is true, is more willing to allow a subjective feeling in the poem. He says³ “The words that Sappho utters here are veritably charged with fire, and in her lyric songs she breathes forth *the heat that is in her heart* using the sweet-voiced muses, as Philoxenus says, to heal the anguish of her love”

The Subject-matter of her Poems

§ 28 A general survey of the scanty remnants we have of Sappho's own works cannot fail to throw many interesting sidelights on her character, and it will be in no way amiss to summarize here the results in this connexion. She apparently reproaches her brother Charaxus for having brought disgrace on their family—how could the Sappho of common repute have had the face to blame her brother?—but longs for his safe return and restoration to honour among his fellow-citizens (Fragm 9), and alludes scornfully to Doricha (10), she has nothing but praises for her other brother Larichus⁴. She is an ardent and loyal friend (33),

¹ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Sappho u. Simonides*, p. 58 f.

² Nothing, for instance, to compare with Shakespeare, *Sonnet 151*

³ *Amat* 18

⁴ *Athen* x, 424 E

and mentions several of her companions with the sincerest and warmest affection, she listens for the sweet footfall of Anactoria when they are parted (8) recalls the joy of their bygone intercourse and the longing for absent friends (6) recording the tender grace of one the beauty of another (14) the lovely hair of a third (12) the cleverness of a fourth (23) the swiftness of foot of yet another (20) The description of Atthis whom she had loved from childhood stings her (18 19) and the forgetfulness of others rankles (35) She laughs to scorn the vulgar pretensions of a rich uncultured woman (24) In spite of his flattering compliments ' pure sweetly smiling violet weaving Alcaous gets a rebuff for some unworthy suggestion (27) and a proposed marriage between a young man and an older woman is disconcerted (28)¹ It is not at all clear that she is alluding to herself here We have several references to Gorgo and Andromeda her rivals the latter of whom had stolen away Atthis from her (13-17)

§ 29 A characteristic utterance of Sappho's is her avowal of delight in *διβροσύνη* the life of ease refinement and delicacy and its intimate connexion with nobility and goodness (41)² She claims that her nature is gentle and child like (44) but admits that it is susceptible to sudden assaults of love (46 47 49 52) Longing for the absent (45) pain and cares (42) a wavering mind (43) a horror of old age (41, 31 156 A) and a dread of death (64) the joys of sweet sleep (87) are her lot as they are the lot of others

§ 30 Sappho's philosophy of life shows itself in various fragments a dirge besets not the muse-lover's

¹ Cf. Shak. *Twelfth Night* II 4 30

² What a surprising confession of truth for a harlot or a *τρυφής* to make!

house (61), there can be no real beauty apart from goodness (63), we need good counsel in respect to the gods (62), wealth unbalanced by worth is a perilous house-mate (66), there is nothing more dignified in anger than silence (65) Proverbs of course appear gold imperishable by rust (67), stir not the shingle (69), there are who will not have the honey, if it mean with it the bee (69)

§ 31 J A Symonds has descanted in somewhat lyrical terms on the "Lesbian love of physical beauty, and sensibility to radiant scenes of Nature", and certainly there are in our Sappho many touches showing how sensitive her mind was to beauty in all its forms,¹ as seen in Nature and as portrayed in her description of it² The moon, as the minister of Aphrodite, and as "sweet regent of the sky", was a special favourite with Sappho, "rosy-fingered" she calls her (6₉), and we have the full moon putting out the fainter light of the stars (6₁₀, 75), and lighting the dance round an altar (76), shining over the sea (6₁₁), moon-set and the sinking of the Pleiads at the lonely vigil so exquisitely described (71), rosy-armed (41), golden-sandalled Dawn (51), a cool orchard, drowsy with the sound of water through the apple-boughs (72),³ the last rosy apple of autumn on the topmost bough (133), tall flowers on a river's bank (74), the honey-scented clover (6₁₄), a maid picking posies in a meadow (77), dew and dewy meadows (6₁₃, 7₂₁), the weaving of garlands by girls in their bloom (7₁₃, 12₁, 78), the tender sapling of a tree (125),⁴ and the many-eared Night (6₂₀), the many-garlanded earth

¹ Cf Max. Tyr 24

² Cf Demetr, *On Style*, 166

³ "Il mormorio dell acque gelida traverso i rami dei meli," Castiglioni

⁴ Cf Hom, *Od* vi, 163, and Arnold, *Sohrab*, 332



THE HYDRIA AT ATHENS

(73) Then we have the image of doves drooping their wings in the chill of death (79) the cicala charming the summer heat with his song (80) the dazzling sheen of the hyacinth (134) and its fragrant bloom trod in the dust by clumsy shepherds (134)¹ the lovely heaven haunting swallow (53) the nightingale the angel of the spring (84) We have also fragments of what seems to have been the description of a storm at sea (85)

§ 32 Sappho's extant verses contain references to Aphrodite and Adonis Eros and Peitho to Hera Hermes and Apollo to Leto Leda and Selene to Kalliope the Muses and Graces to Prometheus and Theseus and Andromeda and Jason and Tithonus.

§ 33 A main part of her work is taken up with epithalamia the wedding songs for which she was famous To these probably belong the exquisite invocation to Hesperus so inadequately rendered by Byron (130) the audacious dialogue between a bride and her virginity (135) the contrast between the sweet blushing apple out of reach and the purple hyacinth trodden under foot by the passer by (133 134) the jests at the bridegroom and the doorkeeper of the bridal chamber (136 138) and the lately recovered spirited fragment describing the home-coming of Hector and Andromache

Demetrius² says that the whole tissue of Sappho's poesy consisted of such things as the Gardens of the Nymphs wedding-songs and love episodes and that she used words that were sweet and beautiful when she sang of love and the spring and the halcyon and that the texture of her poetry was woven with every melodious word and where no word was forthcoming she coined one Being a true woman as Athenaeus and Galen

¹ Ibid. 623

On Style 162, 166

also have occasion to remark of her, she has allusions to dress and ornaments, garlands and kerchiefs and rings, unguents and ointments, of myrrh, cassia, and frankincense, and favourite words with her are such as express grace, tenderness, and delicacy¹ Gold and the rose appear in many a compound Meleager aptly compares her poems to roses, *βαῖα μὲν ἀλλὰ ρόδα*²

§ 34 One last point must be mentioned, as evidenced by Sappho's fragments, namely, her confident expectation of the immortality of her work The Muses had given her of their choicest gifts, and her lot was one with theirs (56, 57) Though she does not claim to touch the stars in her pride, yet she affirms that after-ages will remember her (25, 58, 59) Like Horace, and Ovid, and Shakespeare, she is fain to cry, *Non omnis moriai*³

Verdict in Sappho's Favour

§ 35 So much for the first-hand evidence of Sappho's own words There is nothing here to cause uneasiness to lovers of Sappho, nothing that has a nasty flavour, no lilies that fester like weeds All is stimulating and exhilarating, yet innocent, as her native Lesbian wine, as little malice,⁴ as may be looked for in a woman,

¹ ἄβρος, ἄπαλος, βράδινος, μάλακος, καὶ λ

² Few, that is, in his *Garland*, but those particular epigrams (three) are certainly no roses nor (perhaps) by Sappho The Proem to Meleager's *Garland* (Anth Pal iv, 1) begins —

Many a lily here of Anyte,
And many an amaryllis tall
Is twined of Moero, but, Sappho, of thee
Few flowers, yet they are roses all

³ Cf Pinytus of Byzantium's Epigram (Anth Pal vii, 16, Edm, p 167)

Sappho's dumb dust and name her tomb contains,
But all immortal are her magic strains

⁴ Reinach, *Acad des Inscript*, Compt Rendus, 1911, p 729 Elle était une petite femme brune vive, de belle humeur, et de franc parler, tressaillant à toutes les émotions de la nature et du cœur, malicieuse avec grâce, amante avec fougue, de plus poëtesse inspirée, musicienne accomplie et novatrice

much vivacity and some humour the whole outlook normal and human sublimated though it be by the fires of imagination and passion but sane always sane not at all as Swinburne has so superficially and erroneously described her—

Love's priestess mad with pain and joy of song
 Song's priestess mad with joy and pain of love
 which may be characterized as mere poetical flamboyance.

So we may here put away once for all with a clear conscience as Welcker¹ Wilamowitz² Tennyson and all other capable judges have done the hateful suspicions that have clung to and disfigured the glorious image of pure sweetly-smiling violet-crowned Sappho and take her to our hearts who have already taken her to our minds as an embodiment not only of all that is artistically great in mental achievement but also of all that is womanly and lovable in human character. We can say of her as Nossis said of Callo—³

λαυρέτω οὐ τυρα γαρ μέμψη εχει βιοτας
 and echo a now fairer tribute from Swinburne

I Sappho shall be one with all high things for ever

Sappho's Art

§ 36 Now that we have dealt succinctly but faithfully with Sappho's life and character something must necessarily be said of her art about which there has from the first been no dissentient voice. Let us listen to one or two ancient testimonies in corroboration of this. The author of the treatise *On the Sublime* in preserving for us to our eternal benefit the great Ode

¹ F. G. Welcker *Sappho von seinem herrschenden Tonurtheil befreit* 1816

² *Sappho und Simonides* 1813 pp. 15-78

³ Anth. Pal. ix, 605

Φαίνεται μοι κῆρυς,¹ adds to our obligation by subjoining this illuminating criticism ²

“ Since in all things there are latent by nature certain elements which co-exist with their substance, it is a necessary result that we should find a source of sublimity in the selection in every case of the most significant constituents of a thing and in the power, by combining them one with another, of making them as it were into one living whole. The reader or hearer is attracted in the one case by the choice of points taken, and in the other by their aggregation ”

“ For instance, Sappho everywhere takes the emotions incident to the frenzy of love from the signs that attend it, and from the actual reality. But wherein does she show her genius? In her wonderful power of both choosing and uniting the intensest and most striking features of passion ”

After transcribing the poem, the writer goes on — “ Do you not marvel how for one and the same purpose the writer enlists, as though they were outside of her and disconnected, soul, body, hearing, tongue, eyes, colour? and how by contraries she is at the same time cold as ice and hot as fire, in her right mind and out of her senses, terrified and at the point of death? So that it might seem that not one passion only moves her but a concourse of passions. All such things are common with lovers, but it is the choice of the salient features and their combination into one that has effected such perfection ”

This is an admirable piece of analysis, showing us with brief distinctness, wherein consists the sublimity of Sappho in her realistic and artistic delineation of passion

¹ Fragm 14

² Longinus, *De Sublimitate*, 10

§ 37 Beside this let us set the critical remarks of the Halicarnassian grammarian Dionysius on the companion Ode to Aphrodite¹ concerned as they are more with the verbal style Speaking of the smooth and florescent style (*γλαφυρὰ καὶ αὐθῆρὰ σύνθεσις*)² he describes its characteristics and names as its chief exponents Hesiod among epic writers and among lyrists Sappho followed by Anacreon and Simonides but of tragedians only Euripides and of orators Isocrates He then goes on

Of lyrical poets Sappho seems to me to have achieved this style in the greatest perfection and I will begin with this example from her

After transcribing the whole ode, he proceeds

The beauty and charm of this passage lie in the woven tissue of the words and the smoothness of their adjustment. For the words are set side by side and are woven into one piece as by a sort of relationship and natural affinity of the letters Throughout almost the entire Ode the vowels which ordinarily precede or follow them are fitted to the mutes or semi vowels There are very few instances of the clash of semi vowels with semi vowels or of vowels with one another such as jar on the ear Looking through the whole ode among so many nouns and verbs and other parts of speech I have found but five or six of the conjunction of such semi vowels as are naturally unfitted to coalesce Nor do I find that these interfere to any great extent with the beauty of the diction juxtaposition of vowels occurring actually in the lines I find to be the same in number or even fewer but those which occur between

¹ Fragm. 3.

² Comp. 23 This phrase is a difficult one to render *γλαφυρός* means "easy" "smooth" as opposed to "abrupt" "harsh" "obscure" *αὐθῆρά* does not mean "flowery" or "florid" but rather "adorned" or "rich" or "picturesque"

the lines are somewhat more numerous. Naturally, then, the piece moves smoothly and gently, since the structure of the words does not disturb the waves of the sound."

These ancient criticisms are useful to us in many ways, as the considered judgment of men who were experienced critics familiar with the Greek language and with Sappho's poems.

§ 38 Dionysius makes very similar comments in another passage,¹ saying

"The easy (*γλαφυρά*) and picturesque (*θεατρική*)² style, which chooses elegance before sublimity, comes next. It always picks out the smoothest and softest words, aiming at euphony and melody and the sweetness that is their outcome. Then it does not go about to set these down just as they come, or to unite them at haphazard, the one with the other, but first determines which placed by which will be able to render the result most musical, and considers according to what arrangement they must be taken to make the collocation of the words more pleasing, and so tries to form a more connected whole, taking especial care that the words shall unite and coalesce together, and the combined rhythm of all be perfectly smooth."

Here again, as examples of this style, he instances Hesiod, and also Anacreon.

§ 39 Plutarch,³ who more than once mentions Sappho's songs and their effect upon listeners, e.g. "Do you not see what a charm there is in Sappho's songs, and how they delight and tickle the ears of the hearers?" evidently was a great admirer of hers. As he

¹ *Demosth.* 40

² Lit. "scenic", it corresponds to *ἀνθηρά* above. So "ornate" or "decorative".

³ *Pyth. Or.* 6

was one of the most moral men of his age this fact tells greatly in favour of Sappho

Demetrius¹ while treating of the graces (*χρήστες*) of Sappho's style speaks of the *ἐπιφωνημα* or phrase of embellishment (Fragm 134) the hyperbole (Fragm 139) repetition or reduplication of a word or phrase (Fragm 35 129) metaphor (Fragm 80) comparison or simile and amended simile (Fragm 91 92) He also mentions her humour but considers it as expressed here unsuitable for lyric poetry (Fragm 138) Assonance and alliteration are frequent in the fragments and there is even a trace of rhyme² Hermogenes on *Sweetness of style*³ quoting the picture of *dolce far niente* in an apple orchard (Fragm 72) says that all pleasures that are not disgraceful can be described simply as for instance the beauty of a spot the variety of flora the distinctive characteristics of a river Such things give pleasure to the eye when seen and to the ear when described

§ 40 Lucian in painting an ideal portrait of wisdom and wit⁴ suggests combining the experience the ability and the intellect of Aspasia the greatness of mind of Theano (the Pythagorean) who was famed for virtue and wisdom the intelligence and good judgment of Diotima and of Sappho τὸ γλαφυρὸν τῆς προαιρέσεως a very difficult phrase to interpret It seems to refer to the principles or ideals of her art the smooth and easy grace of the execution of her poetic design and defies a concise translation Mr Edmonds's refinement of character can hardly be justified Lucian is

¹ *Comp.* 106-87

e.g. 4, (at end of every word) 3_{II} (8) 7_{II} (β) 52 (π) 69 (μ)
77 (γ) and for rhyme? 129_γ

Rhet. Graec. ed. Walz, III, 315

⁴ *Immag.* 18.

here, as in the other instances, thinking of mental qualities. The same author in his *Amores*¹ couples Sappho with Theano and Aspasia again, adding to the trio Telesilla, the amazon poetess of Argos.

§ 41 These few extracts, to which may be added the various citations from ancient authors introducing some of the fragments below, will show how Sappho's work impressed the world. We may ask how does it appeal to us? The poet Gray, writing in 1767, says "Extreme conciseness of expression, yet pure, perspicuous, and musical, is one of the grand beauties of lyric poetry . . . This (he adds) I could never attain" These are precisely the beauties which Sappho attained in an exceptional degree. In fact, we could not use better epithets to describe her style. To speak of her "verbal economy" has almost become a commonplace. She had in an eminent degree the Greek gift of restraint and literary tact and taste, yet she combined this avoidance of excess with an intensity of thought and a vividness of expression not easily to be matched. There was an absolute personal sincerity in her work and, in the treatment of her theme, the vehement virility of a man combined with the choice daintiness of a woman. Added to the dignified passion and sympathetic sensitiveness of the Aeolian temperament was perhaps something of Oriental fervour and imagination. With her, thought and expression go hand in hand in a wonderful way, and as Sappho was poet and musician too, and a dancer to boot, she was able to combine the melody and sweetness of music with the austere harmonies of beautiful words and the rhythms of the dance, of all which she had such complete mastery, into an exquisite whole, to the fullest

appreciation of which we have lost one essential key—the knowledge of Sappho's musical measures. Greek music unlike modern did not use the words of lyrics as a mere vocal vehicle for its own expression but coalesced and identified itself with the words which could not nor were intended to, utter their true meaning without it.

§ 42 Sappho's style was easy, graceful, pointed, direct and simple—simple above all—and her technique was perfect. She differed from Alcaeus in that his art was of a grander, broader and more massive type. The subtle harmonies of Sappho were not so much at home in the loud notes of politics and war that appealed so much to her contemporary Horace has drawn the contrast in a well known passage¹ between the plaintive note of Sappho (suited to the Mixolydian mode which she is said to have invented and the *pectis* which she brought into use) and the fuller tone of Alcaeus with his *dura navis dura fugae mala dura belli* and again in his *Alcaei minaces Camenae* and the *commissi calores Aeolice fidibus pueræ*. Ovid² makes her admit that the lyre of Alcaeus *grandius sonat*. But though the partiality of Horace is apparently against us we should not hesitate a moment if the choice were ours to recover the lost poems of Sappho rather than those of Alcaeus.³ They both unlocked their hearts in their lyrics and we can imagine many another Alcaeus but there has been only one Sappho as there has been but one Joan of Arc. In either case Nature broke the die which she had made.

¹ *Odes* II 13 27 iv 9 6 and 11

Heroid. xv 30

In the inventory of the Temple of Apollo in Delos M. Homolle has discovered an item, a three-cornered case containing books of Alcaeus."

What was Sappho Like?

§ 43 It remains to say what can be said as to Sappho's personal appearance. We should naturally wish and suppose her to have been rather over than under the general high level of Greek beauty, and our hearts go with Swinburne when he writes of—

The small dark body's Lesbian loveliness
That held the fire eternal

It therefore comes somewhat as a shock to us, when we find that ancient tradition will have none of this. A scrap of Sappho's biography recently discovered in Egypt¹ is quite uncompromising in the matter, and records “In appearance she seems to have been quite insignificant and unusually plain, being of a dusky complexion and small stature” Maximus Tyrius,² a philosopher of the second century A.D., remarks that she was called *καλὴ* because of her poetry, though in person she was small and dark. Earlier is Ovid's evidence, if he wrote the *Epistle to Phaon*, for he makes her speak of herself as small and short and dark.³ A mediæval commentator on Lucian⁴ is quite as emphatic with his “As to her body Sappho was extremely ill-favoured, being small and dark in appearance, and for all the world like a nightingale enfolding a little body with misshapen wings.” All these statements evidently look back to a common source, which was perhaps the above-mentioned treatise of Chamaeleon, who was Aristotle's disciple and a man of considerable learning.

¹ Οκυρ Pap xv, 1800

² 24, 7, *μικρὰν οὖσαν καὶ μέλαιναν*, cf. for the expression Anth Pal v, 121 (Philodemus), *μικκὴ καὶ μελανεύσα*

³ *Heroid* xv, 33, 35, 37—*corpore parva, brevis, non candida*

⁴ *Imagg* 18 The scholion may derive ultimately from Didymus or perhaps from Arethas

But the only statement of his relating to Sappho which has survived lends support to so inaccurate a suggestion that we cannot place much reliance upon any other details emanating from him. Athenaeus tells us that Chamaeleon in his book says that some writers asserted that Anacreon wrote a poem to her, which Sappho answered in verse¹. But the latter poem as Athenaeus remarks is obviously not by Sappho. Nor was Anacreon's poem addressed to her.

§ 44 We are in fact without any means of judging of the value of the tradition which makes Sappho plain even to ugliness. Perhaps the only thing in its favour is that it is contrary to our preconceived notions and not likely therefore to have been invented. But this may have been a conception of Sappho's outward semblance to which the comic poets gave currency. The undoubted ugliness of Socrates must have been a valuable asset to the comic drama. But it is necessary to reckon with the possibility that Sappho was not of pure Greek descent. Lesbos was at various times overrun with settlers from different races of the Asiatic mainland. Sappho's father had a name Shamandronymus which recalls associations with the Troad a district at one time in the sphere of Lesbian influence. Our own Columban² ranks her among Trojogenæ and Solinus names her with Asiatic writers which in itself the near proximity of Lesbos to the Asiatic coast would hardly seem to warrant.

§ 45 However that may be if Sappho was like her brother Larichus she must have been at least of comely appearance as the office which he held was only open to

¹ These are given below p. 181. See Athen. xiii 599 C. Bergk, Sappho, 28. Anacr 14.

² Epistle *ad Felofium*, v. 110.

well-born youths who were also *εὐπρεπεῖς*¹ Charaxus, too, in Posidippus's epigram² is called *χαρίεις* But even if Sappho lacked the beauty of feature which we see so idealized in the best Greek statuary, yet she must have had compensating charm, and she certainly had abundance of wit Antipater, when he refers to her as the "glory of Lesbian women with lovely hair," may be using merely a stock epithet with no personal relevance, but we should naturally take it that he intended Sappho to share in that characteristic Alcaeus has immortalized her with the beautiful epithet *μελιχόμειδε*, "gently-smiling" We can hardly doubt but that her voice was sweet, as in a singer of her own songs and a teacher of the art it should needs have been, and she is compared to a nightingale,³ and in an epigram by Antipater of Sidon called *μελίφωνος*⁴ As a dancer too, she would naturally have shapely feet, and merit the distinctive epithet *ποικιλοσάμβαλος* which Anacreon uses in a poem wrongly supposed to refer to Sappho⁵

The epithet *καλὴ* merits a few words We have seen above that Maximus⁶ interprets it to mean that her poetry was beautiful Plato⁷ couples *Σαπφώ* ἡ *καλὴ* with *Ἀνακρέων* ὁ *σοφός*, but he calls Sappho too *σοφή* Plutarch⁸ also calls her *καλὴ* in connexion with the *Φαίνεται μοι κῆνος* Ode Maximus simply repeats Plato over again Athenaeus⁹ echoes the epithet,

¹ Eustath ad Hom, *Il* xx, 234 (Schol Victor)

² See p 3

³ Schol Lucian, *Imagg* 18, and Athen xii, 598 (from Hermesiana)

⁴ Anth Pal ix, 66 See p 45

⁵ Bergk, *Anacr* 14

⁶ 24, 7, διὰ τὴν ἀραν τῶν μελῶν

⁷ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 235b, Aelian, V H xii, 19

⁸ Amat 763a

⁹ Athen x, 424 C

and Julian¹ twice uses it. Themistius contrasts Σαπφω η καλη with Πνευματος δ γεννατος. Obviously we get nothing for our purpose from this epithet.

Some Testimonies to Sappho

§ 46 So much for the literary tradition. In concluding this review of the total materials which remain to us for forming a conception of Sappho's life and character and before we go on to inquire whether any representation of her has come down to us it will be enough to quote Strabo's² mention of her as θαυμαστόν πι χρῆμα a veritable portent whom no woman of recorded times had in her art even approached. Demetrius calls her θειά divine and she was universally acclaimed as the tenth Muse as in Plato's epigram³ above and in this

Mnemosyné was struck with amaze when she heard
honey voiced

Sappho for fear that a tenth Muse had appeared
among men⁴

and this—

Sister elect of Pieria's Muses Lesbian Sappho
Ninth of the lyric poets am I but tenth of the Muses⁵
and this anonymous epigram⁶

From Thebes clanged Pindar's eagle cry delight
Breathed from the honey tongued Simonides
Stesichorus Ibycus as flame were bright
Sweet Alcman dainty voiced Bacchylides

¹ *Epist* 19 and 30

² *xdli*, 617

³ See above, p. 18

⁴ Anth. Pal. ix, 66 (Antipater of Sidon)

⁵ Ausonius, *Epigr* 32.

⁶ Anth. Pal. ix, 571 *εἰς τοὺς θεὰς λαυρούς*

Charm by Anacreon walked, with subtle grace
 Alcaeus chanted to his Lesbian lyre,
 Sappho of mortals was not ninth, her place
 The tenth among the lovely Muses' quire

Representations of Sappho, inscribed with her name

§ 47 The earliest representations, or supposed representations, of Sappho cannot be dated earlier than 70 to 100 years after her death, which we may conjecture to have taken place about 550 B.C. She was not born before 620, and had she lived to any great age she would have been quoted among the *Μακρόβιοι* of Phlegon or Lucian. Sappho is only represented by name on half a dozen red-figured vases of the fifth century B.C., none being earlier than 480 B.C., and on late imperial Roman coins of the second and third centuries A.D. Her name also appears on a gem (from the Marlborough Collection),¹ but King pronounces the inscription to be a forgery,² and on an incised stone³ from the Abbé Gravelle Collection, where a female figure is shown playing on a lyre and leaning against a pillar on which the name Σαπφώ is inscribed.⁴ Besides these, one bust bears the inscription ΣΑΠΦΩ ΕΡΕΣΙΑ but it is not authentic.⁴

Vase Paintings

§ 48 The earliest coinage of Lesbos, with female heads on the obverse, and the red-figured Athenian vases on which Sappho is named, are approximately of the same period, round about the middle of the fifth

¹ See Reinach, *Pierres Gravées*, p. 113 King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, p. 236 and plate lxix, 7

² See § 72

³ Reinach *Pierres Gravées*, pl. lxxxi

⁴ For illustration of this see Wolf's *Sappho* (Frontispiece)

century B.C. Of these two the vase figures are of no use to us in recovering the features of Sappho. They are purely conventional and depict scenes of social life among women musical meetings and such like or in some cases have a symbolical meaning¹. They tell us nothing more than the current conception of Sappho. Their intention is not as a rule to depict her² so much as to use her name to add to their pictures. They are not even of much help towards realizing the customs or the costumes of the previous century or a distant island. However such as they are they merit description. They are six in all —

(1) The earliest of these dating from early in the fifth century is the Dzialinsky Vase³ a *kalpis* from Athens. It is inscribed **ΩΣΑΦΩ** and shows her walking alone with a lyre of seven strings in her left hand and a plectrum in the right evidently playing. She is dressed in a *chiton* with sleeves and over it a flowered *himation* thrown back from the right shoulder. The hair is confined in a *sakkos* or cloth wrapping which lets a tuft of hair escape at the back as we see on some of the coins hereafter to be mentioned while the rest forms a ball on the nape of the neck. A fold of the *sakkos* seems to enclose two little side-locks that fall on the cheek. She wears a necklace and apparently ear rings in this also resembling the early coins. The eye is represented in the archaic flat style.

(2) Closely following this in date is the magnificent crater from Agrigentum now at Munich on which are represented with their names Alcaeus and Sappho (**ΣΑΦΩ**). Between the figures runs perpendicularly

¹ As with the *halter vase*.

This is not true, of course, of the Alcaeus vase.

² Of the period when the black figured vases were giving way to the red figured ones.

the name or words *Dama kalos*¹ Alcaeus is seen on the left standing with his feet together, holding a lyre of seven strings in his left and a plectrum in his right hand. His head is bowed, and notes (or words) are apparently issuing from his lips. He seems somewhat abashed before Sappho, who also carries a similar lyre and plectrum, but her lyre hangs down at a slope, and she wears a somewhat severe expression. She is evidently turning away from Alcaeus and preparing to move off. Alcaeus is bearded and the ends of his hair fall down in curls over his cheek and neck, the rest being confined, except for a tuft over the forehead, by a single band, the extremities of which hang down in two tassels over the nape of the neck. He is dressed in a broidered chiton and a himation thrown back from the right shoulder. Sappho is dressed in a chiton and peplus, which is withdrawn from her right arm. She wears a necklace and apparently ear-rings. Her hair is bound by a single band, and she wears a wreath of ivy leaves. Two locks hang down over her breast on the right side and one on the left, and a plait of hair and long locks reaching below her knees hang down her back. The hair on her forehead escaping from the band forms a fringe.

This picture has generally been taken—and surely with reason—to depict the incident recorded in *Fragm. 27*, where Alcaeus is supposed to have made some unworthy proposal to Sappho, which she rejects with a tactful rebuke. If this is so, the vase is of extraordinary interest to us. If we could think of Alcaeus and Sappho as being exiled together to Sicily, we might by a flight of fancy regard the incident as having occurred in Sicily, and so have come to be portrayed on a vase at Agrigentum.

On another side of the vase appear two similar figures,

¹ Cf. *CIG* 7759



the man on the left wreathed with ivy bearded and with locks of hair falling down his back holding up a cantharus in his right hand with a washael to the smiling figure opposite to him who is also wreathed with ivy and wears her hair in exactly the same way as in the first picture. She carries in her right hand a little jug or oinochoé held out towards the male figure corresponding to his cantharus. Their dress is similar to that of the other two figures. Each carries a branch of ivy in the left hand. The word $\kappa\alpha\lambda\sigma$ issues from the lips of each. There does not seem any imperative reason¹ why these figures should not be Alcaeus and Sappho again celebrating a reconciliation over the wine-cup.

(3) Dating a little later and about the middle of the century is the next vase painting from the Middleton Collection in Paris. It is the well known and enigmatical $\tau\delta\lambda\sigma$ vase. It shows Sappho and in Eros as Comparetti suggests the Love of Sappho personified. She is seated on a three-legged stool without a back dressed in a long chiton and short upper garment her feet on a footstool. She holds in her left hand a scroll of her poems and her right rests on the edge of the stool. Her hair is bound with crossing bands as we shall see it in the Sappho busts some hair escaping over the forehead and a spiral curl by the ear. She wears a necklace and bracelets. She is gazing intently at her scroll while a nude winged Eros crowned with a garland coming in haste offers her a wreath. Over the sitting figure's head is $\Sigma\Delta\pi\Phi\Omega$ and over Eros outstretched arm the word $\Tau\Lambda\Lambda\sigma$. It is most probable that this cryptic word refers not to the Phaon fable which was probably not invented then but to the bitter-sweet² consequences of that passion.

¹ The cantharus is supposed to show that Dionysos is depicted.

² Fragm. 18, 46 47

of love which Sappho so certainly experienced and so feelingly portrayed

(4) A little later still is the Michaelis *leycythus* in Berlin, carrying us a stage further in the idealization of Sappho¹ It represents a group of ten major and three minor figures with a bird singing and a dappled fawn In the centre sits Thamyris, the fabled Thracian bard who challenged the Muses for supremacy in song, with a gorgeous lyre of twelve strings in his left hand and a plectrum in his right He is dressed in a splendid embroidered spangled and decorated coat His cloak is apparently thrown off and he is sitting upon it (no chair being shown here or elsewhere in the picture) His legs are bare and he wears buskins His curled hair is wreathed with bay Over him is the name OAMYPIE On the upper part of the picture, parallel with Thamyris on his left, are two figures, one Apollo, as the name above him shows, wreathed with bay and holding a branch of bay upright between his left hand and his body He has his back turned to Thamyris, and seems to take little interest in the proceedings Back to back with him is a female figure, holding and gazing, as she walks forward, at what looks like a necklace depending from her left to her right hand, but the component parts, consisting of little discs, are not threaded together and seem to be falling from the one hand to the other Her head-dress is peculiar, and it is not clear whether she wears a *stephané* or a broad stiff band over her forehead Her part in the scene is not obvious Beyond Thamyris, on his right, is a complicated group of figures On the upper line is Aphrodite sitting with Eros winged on her right shoulder and looking up at him She

¹ So Comparetti

wears a jewelled stephané and a necklace and is dressed in a close-fitting chiton down to her feet. Over her lap and leaning on it bends a girl in a similar chiton with necklace and bracelets her hair tied simply at the back leaving a knot of hair beyond the band. She is stretching her right hand towards a bird with open beak released by a winged boy. The boy's right hand rests on the knee of a woman who sits below Aphrodite with her left arm round another (wingless) boy. He stands below her with his right foot on her chair (the chairs are not represented). To the right of Aphrodite's head and a little above the girl bending over her is the inscription ΣAO (? for $\Sigma\text{A}\Theta$) which must refer to the lower figure and not to the one we have called Aphrodite. The figure below which is gazing at Thamyris as Sappho also seems to be has a stephané and is most probably Peitho. The winged boy is supposed to be Himeros and the other boy Pothos. The bird would be a nightingale as connected in legend with Thamyris and also a designation of Sappho. To the right of Aphrodite is a standing figure wearing a stephané with a lyre and plectrum raised as if to strike the lyre. She will be perhaps a Muse. Before her is a girl sitting with a roll in her left hand and her right hand raised towards her mouth. She and the Muse above are looking at Thamyris. Below and to the left of Thamyris is another similar girl with necklace and ear rings sitting a lyre lying idle in her right hand at her side with a dappled fawn beyond it and looking away from her. Lastly there is a similar girl below and beyond Apollo sitting with a lyre in her left hand but no plectrum. She too gazes at Thamyris. The whole represents a musical display of some kind but Sappho's part in it or that of her three girl companions is not so clear as

might be wished. Her affectionate relations with Aphrodite is the only point of interest plainly discernible. The whole picture is a lovely composition, and the figures and their features, though conventional, more than usually attractive.

(5) Late in the fifth century is the probable date of the painting on the three-handled damaged hydria at Athens¹. It represents Sappho seated reading from a roll on which the words are still to some extent decipherable. Behind her stands a girl holding a wreath of ivy leaves over her head. Inscribed above her is the name Nikopolis, though the ί seems more like an Ε and the Κ more like Κ. The girl standing in front of the figure of Sappho holds a six-stringed lyre out towards her, between which and Sappho's head is inscribed the word ΣΑΓΓΩΣ, equivalent we may suppose to Σαπφούς, signifying that the lyre is Sappho's². Over this girl's head and arm is the name Καλλίς. Behind her is another girl unnamed, with her left hand on Kallis's shoulder. The attitude of Sappho is very similar to that of a girl reading from a scroll on a gem in the British Museum³. The hair of all the girls is fastened with bands and has a general resemblance to the coiffure of the Albani bust. They are dressed in chiton and himation, the latter, except in the case of the lyre-holder partly thrown off. The interest of this picture centres in the words on the scroll. The roll which Sappho is holding in both hands is only unrolled as far as the first column. As the appearance of the part still unrolled, held by the right hand, suggests, there is much more to be unrolled than has been already opened.

¹ See p. 76.

² Edmonds, *Class Quart.*, Jan. 1922, takes the genitive to mean the picture is that "of Sappho".

³ See below.

The two ends that curl over as held by Sappho have written upon them perpendicularly on the left margin ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ (probably though the last three letters are doubtful) Some prefer to read πτερα εχει and certainly the fifth letter seems angular¹ for an Ο and the Ν is not visible owing to horizontal lines drawn by the painter to mark the outside of the roll On the right hand curled-over margin the word ΕΠΕΑ is clear The two words obviously give the title of the roll After Επεα there is room for a letter or two and slight traces of what may be letters From the illustration it will be seen that Sappho's hands cover a portion of the words inscribed on the roll. It is clear from certain indications that the letters were painted in after the hands were drawn

Π	ΘΕΟΙ	
Ε	ΗΕΠΙ	
Ο	ΩΝ	
Ρ	ΕΡΕ	
Ε	ΩΝ	
Τ	ΑΡΧ	ΕΠΕΑ
Λ	ΟΜ	
	AIA	
	Γ	
	Ν	
	Τ	
	Ν	

¹ In the original it is more like a delta with the right limb of the triangle not joined.

As the reproduction here given shows, the words on the inner face of the roll read, $\theta\epsilon\omega$, $\eta\epsilon\pi\omega\nu$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\omega\nu$ $\alpha\rho\chi\omega\mu\alpha\iota$, $\alpha\lambda\lambda'$ $\zeta\alpha>\nu\alpha\iota\tau\iota<\omega>\nu$ The doubtful and difficult letters are in line nine, the second letter of which may be a λ , but the slope of the down stroke is more pronounced than in the letter before it In line ten the remains of the second letter seem rather to point to a Σ than an A , which would have to be very much tilted to correspond to the traces that remain The main objection to the reading $\alpha\nu\alpha\iota\tau\iota\omega\nu$ is that it involves letters in lines 9, 10 and 11 being covered by the hand As they were not all painted in, this is possible¹ Mr Edmonds reads $\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\omega\nu$,² but the O is more than doubtful, and in the eleventh line the straight line after the T cannot be twisted into an Ω Mr Edmonds has dealt very fully with the whole of this interesting inscription in his article in the *Classical Quarterly* mentioned above, to which we cannot do better than refer our readers He thinks we may have here genuine words of Sappho But Pauly-Wissowa in the *Real-Encyklopädie* are much more doubtful.

(6) A three-handled red-figured hydria, of which the whereabouts is now unknown It was found in Attica in 1880, and passed into private hands Mylonas thus describes it³ Five women appear on the front face, four of whom are completely preserved, but of the fifth, the furthest on the left, only the feet On the right under the handle of the hydria sits a woman dressed in a fine chiton and over it a himation, playing the

¹ But we are not at liberty, Mr Edmonds says, to suppose that letters are hidden under the fingers of the hand which holds the roll

² "Good to hear" Cf a gem illustrated in Jac Gronovius, *Geminae et Sculpturae antiquae*, where a woman with a lyre is seen leaning on a pillar, behind which are the words $\alpha\nu\eta\sigma\alpha\epsilon$ $\epsilon\pi\omega\iota\omega\iota$ (?)

³ Bulletin de Corresp Hellénique, iv, 373 (1880), in *Mélanges Archéologiques* The vessel was badly damaged when found

double flute. Her seat (as in the Thamyris vase) is not shown. In front of her fixed high up on the wall is an object of an indefinite character the upper part being like a Phrygian flute ($\epsilon\lambdaυμος$) and the lower like a *taenia*. Next as an inscription tells us comes Sappho dressed similarly except that her himation is adorned with broad borders. She is sitting and playing on the tortoiseshell lyre. Above her head appears the inscription ΣΑΓΦΩ (= Σαρφω in the Boeotian dialect says Mylonas)¹. Opposite her is a woman wearing a sleeveless fringed chiton with a border and a double cloak the left foot resting on a raised floor which is not shown (as was also the case in the Thamyris vase). Her hand is gracefully pointed towards her mouth (compare again with this the same vase) as she listens attentively to Sappho playing. Behind her stands another woman in a long chiton and cloak playing on a *sambuca*². It is evident that a musical entertainment or contest is in progress.

It is unfortunate that Mylonas did not give us a much more detailed description of the figures as the vase cannot be traced. There is besides the above apparently a red figured lekythus in private hands in Austria inscribed ΣΑΓΦΩ which would date like the others from the fifth century³.

Paintings of Sappho

§ 49 Before passing on to the coins it may be mentioned that only one picture of Sappho is recorded by ancient writers. It was by a certain Leon⁴ of whom

¹ Others take it as — Σαρφως, but Edmonds as Σαρφω.

A Syrian musical instrument with a very shrill tone.

See Katalog d. Wiener Arch. Ausstellung 1893 p 79 n. 1026.

⁴ Pliny *N.H.* xxxv 35. The word *psaltriam*, which is sometimes taken to agree with *Sappho* probably belongs to the sentence before.

the only fact known is that he painted this picture
 This picture (or possibly another one) is the subject
 of an epigram by Damocharis about A D 400¹

Quick Nature gave thee, Painter, skill to draw
 The Muse of Mitylene without flaw
 Her eyes are wells of brightness that do show
 How her swift fancies with deft thoughts o'erflow
 Her skin by nature smooth, by art undressed,
 Makes her simplicity more manifest
 Her face's blended thought and mirth declare
 That Cypris and the Muse are mingled there

Sappho Represented on Coins

§ 50 We will now pass on to the evidence of coins (with which, to some extent, the busts must be associated) These, as far as they are concerned with Sappho, belong to two distinct epochs, the first covering the 250 years between 500 and 250 B C , and the second, the hundred years between 150 and 250 A D In the first period we have three different coin-issues to deal with among the early coins of Lesbos, Mitylene, and Eresus These are (a) coins of about 500 B C or a little later, made of a debased metal, and called *billon* , (b) coins struck in electrum, an alloy of gold and silver Though quite small (sixths), they are of singularly beautiful workmanship They date from about 450 to 350 B C ,² lastly, (c) small bronze coins issued during the next hundred years under Alexander and his successors The second and later issues, with which we are here concerned, were of imperial bronze coins of Mitylene and Eresus, under Antoninus Pius, Commodus, Julia Domna, and Gallienus

¹ Anth Pal xvi, 310 (Planudean Anthology)

² And so synchronize with the earlier busts

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AUTONOMOUS ELECTRUM COINS OF LESBOS
(440-350 B.C.)



§ 51 There would appear to be no silver coins bearing the head of Sappho. Yet Wolf on the frontispiece of his edition of Sappho gives illustrations of two.¹ The first is a coin of largish size with a female head to r the hair being entirely hidden in a loose coif.² The reverse has a polypus with ΜΥΤΙΑ above it. The second has on the obverse a pleasing female head to right with a simple wreath as fillet and some locks hanging down the back. This is not like a Sappho head. The reverse has the legend ΣΑΠΦΩ ΛΕΣΒΙΣ and shows her playing the lyre as she walks and apparently singing. She wears a chiton and her upper garment is bellied like a sail behind her by the wind.³ Her hair is arranged in the same way as that of the head on the obverse.

§ 52 We are told by those whose judgment is entitled to every respect that there is no instance known of the portrait of any historical character on coins before the time of Alexander and consequently that there can be no question of Sappho's head being so represented on the early coinage of Lesbos. But some considerations would appear to make it not impossible however improbable that Sappho may have formed an exception to this rule. It is not inconceivable that there may have been an early portrait statue of Sappho from which a mint artist might have borrowed certain features and we know that on a coin of Himera struck before its name was changed from Therma to Himera and therefore not long after its foundation in 648 is a representation of Stesichorus Sappho's contemporary.

¹ See Bürchner *Ztschr. f. Numismat.* ix, pt. ii 1881 p. 127. No doubt these two coins are considered forgeries.

For similar examples see below p. 65.

² Cf. the coin of Syracuse mentioned § 58.

evidently taken from a statue¹ Besides, Sappho may be called an exceptional case She was regarded in early times (exactly how early is not known) as the tenth Muse, which gave her a semi-divine character This is brought out in the Epigram of Dioscorides²—

Thou of Æolian Eresus the Muse,
 Sweet pillow for all youthful loves to use,
 Sappho with whom each Muse her honour shares
 On Helicon, for thine is breath like theirs,—
 Either with thee, his lifted torch in hand,
 Hymen beside the nuptial couch doth stand,
 Or Cinyras' son thou mournest, Cypris' love,
 Looking upon the Blest One's holy grove
 Hail, Queen, as gods are hailed, or near or far,
 For daughters of the Gods thy songs still are

She was looked upon as Aphrodite's high-priestess, her minister and favourite, and it is as natural, as it is easy, to suppose that, if her features were known even for fifty years after her death, her head might have been taken, perhaps in an idealized form, to stand for Aphrodite,³ or the Muse of Poetry There was constant intercourse with Egypt even in Sappho's time, and the art of portrait sculpture had been known in Egypt for centuries We should rather expect her to be honoured from the first with some statue or representation on the coinage At all events we know that later she was so honoured Aristotle⁴ implies that she received some such tribute from her fellow-citizens, and Pollux, in

¹ See Burchner, *Zeits f. Numism* ix, pt ii, p 111.

² Anth Pal vii, 407, see below, p 184

³ The possibility of a mortal head being utilized in any form for a divine one is stoutly denied by some

⁴ *Rhet* 1398b

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BRONZE COINS OF MITYLENE
(350-200 B.C.)

the time of Marcus Aurelius states explicitly that the Mitylenaeans put her head upon their coins¹

§ 53 As Bernoulli has pointed out there are several points in connexion with these coins which raise a prejudice in our minds in favour of the head represented upon them being intended for Sappho. Such are the place of minting the tortoiseshell lyre on the reverse and the treatment of the hair in certain coins. To this may be added the fact that some of the busts or statues most generally accepted on other grounds as representing Sappho recall the style of head upon the coins. Moreover the long continuance of this type on the coinage shows that it was considered as especially appropriate to Mitylene. We may therefore without much misgiving take it with the limitations before specified that Sappho was meant to be represented upon some at least of these coins. That the features of the head are not always quite the same need not be a fatal objection to this view as even in the later undoubted representations of such notable persons as Alexander we find great divergence in the heads depicted both on coins and in busts.

§ 54 As Sappho is not named on the early electrum or bronze coins it is only by conjecture that these can be assigned to her. It is not so with the later bronze coins of the Imperial age. Some of these have a bust of Sappho with her name attached others have a figure with a lyre either seated or standing which is obviously meant for Sappho though not actually named so. Admiratio for Sappho as we see from the many references to her in the writers of the period was widely

¹ *Oxon. ix*, 84. Though he may be referring only to the recent appearance of Sappho's head upon the coins of Mitylene or Eresus, yet a consideration of the whole passage shows that this is by no means certain.

prevalent in the century during which these coins were issued. The coins which thus revived the memory of Sappho were struck at Eresus and Mitylene. The former were undoubtedly meant to portray the poetess, and not the courtesan of Eresus,¹ and we can conceive of no other reason for this except that she was born there, though her home became and remained Mitylene.

§ 55 The coins with which we are concerned here are —

(1) A coin of Antoninus Pius² with his head on the obverse. On the reverse is a head of Sappho with the legend ΣΑΠΦΩ and apparently ΕΡΕΣΟΣ. The hair is bound with a sphendoné, or sling-pattern band, letting a tuft of loose hair escape behind.

(2) The second, issued under Antoninus Pius³ (as is supposed from the coiffure), at Mitylene, has a most striking portrait of Sappho on the obverse, facing right, with the legend ΨΑΠΩ. In both the extant specimens there is this gap between the two letters without any trace of the missing letter, which would be Φ, but might conceivably be Π. The reverse has ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΑΙΩΝ and a seven-stringed lyre. The portrait shows energy, intellect, and individuality.

(3) The third is a coin of Commodus,⁴ with his head upon the obverse. The reverse gives the bust of Sappho with legend ΣΑΠΦΩ ΕΡΕΣΟΣ.⁵ Though somewhat similar to the head on the first coin, the Sappho here

¹ Athen. xiii, 596 E.

² In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It is not mentioned by Forrer, or Burchner, or Bernoulli.

³ See Burchner, *Zeitschr f. Numism.* ix, pt. ii, and plate, and Forrer, *Revue Belge de Numism.* 1901, p. 401, who gives an atrocious illustration of it.

⁴ See Burchner, *ibid.*, p. 116, and pl. iv, 7.

⁵ A very rare if not unique specimen, also at Paris.

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IMPERIAL BRONZE COINS OF MITYLENE
(140-190 A.D.)

has a more pleasing and less distressful expression. Bürchner speaks of the mouth and eyes as exhibiting *schnachtende Sehnsucht*. The hair shows the same loose tuft at the back though owing to the worn condition of the coin this is not well seen and the coiffure is not clearly discernible. It seems from the furrows that appear at the top of the head as if the hair was bound with bands at regular intervals. In the previous coin (2) though the coin is in good preservation it is difficult to be sure whether the hair is bound with bands or wound round with plaits of hair as has been done in modern days. But there is certainly no tuft or knot of hair at the back.¹

§ 56 The other coins of this period which do not bear Sappho's bust but certainly refer to her show her as sitting or standing with a lyre in her hands or at her side. These are

(1) A small bronze coin of Eresus of the Antonine period in the Vienna Collection². The obverse has Hermes bearded and wearing a petasus. He stands on a base or ship's prow holding a caduceus in his right and a horn of abundance in his left hand with the letters ΕΡΕΣΙ. On the reverse is a figure with ΣΑΦΦΩ inscribed opposite sitting to left. She holds in her outstretched right hand a plectrum (or possibly a roll) and leans her left arm on a lyre placed behind her on a seat.

§ 57 The other four coins which give a figure of Sappho without her name are coins of Mitylene two of the reign of Pius of which one has the bust of Julia Procla³ on the obverse and the other that of a second

¹ The back of the head is quite round, nearly as much so as in the extraordinary bust at the Terme Museum in Rome.

² Bürchner *ibid* p 117 pl. iv 9

³ Bürchner, *ibid.* p 115 pl. iv 8.

heroine, Nausicaa¹ The reverse of the Procla coin represents Sappho in chiton and peplus seated to right and playing on a lyre of four strings set on her knee, or (in a second series) standing to right and holding with both hands a lyre placed on a column² and playing it The obverse of the Nausicaa coin is similar to the former of these Both coins have on the obverse the name of the Strategus and ΜΥΤΙ or ΜΥΤΙΑ or the full name

The third coin was struck, probably at Mitylene, under Julia Domna, and there is a specimen at Vienna On the reverse Sappho is seated to left Her right arm is obliterated, while her left hand holds a lyre placed beside her on the chair This is somewhat similar to the Eresus reverse

Lastly, there is a coin with the bust of Gallienus on the obverse, and on the reverse Sappho in chiton and peplus seated to right on a high-backed chair, and playing a lyre The reverse also bears the inscription ΜΥΤΙΑΗΝΑΙΩΝ and the name of Valerius Aristomachus

§ 58 Besides the above, an attempt has been lately made³ to prove that Sappho is represented on a Syracusean coin of the third century B C It is a half-drachma, having on the obverse a laureated head of Apollo, and on the reverse ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ, and a female figure standing to left wearing a long chiton and diploïdion, her over-garment being bellied like a sail behind her In her left hand she carries a branch of laurel, and in her right a half-opened roll, on which are traces of words, perhaps never intended to be decipherable Mirone thinks

¹ Forrer, *Rev Belge de Numism* 1901, p 420 Burchner, *Zeits d Numism*, pl iv, 8 (reverse)

² Cf the gem below, p 73

³ *Rev Numism*, ser iv, vol xxv, 1922, with plate

thus to be a representation of Silanion's statue which stood in the Prytaneum of Syracuse till stolen by Verres.¹

§ 59 It has been supposed with great probability that all the reverses of the Imperial coins which represent Sappho were taken from statues and certainly they have every appearance of being so but there is no positive evidence on the subject

Busts of Sappho²

§ 60 It is somewhat surprising that not a single statue or bust has come down to us bearing Sappho's name.³ So famous a personality and one so especially adapted for artistic treatment must have been constantly represented both in painting⁴ and sculpture. It is moreover most unlikely that not one of these representations should have come down to our time. We have seen that there are five or six vases brittle things at the best in which Sappho is pictured still extant. It is natural to suppose that the sculptors of the fifth century B.C. when Sappho as the vase paintings show was in the minds of men exercised their skill upon a subject likely to be so congenial to them. Yet as a matter of fact we have definite records of only two statues of Sappho known in antiquity. There is the celebrated statue by Silanion an Athenian sculptor of the fourth century just mentioned. Cicero who

¹ Cicero, *Ad Verrem* ii. 4. 57. Others think the Albani bust is taken from Silanion's statue.

² For these see Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikonographie* i. 64-72. Furtwängler *Masterpieces* pp. 69 ff. Percy Gardner *J.J.S.* 1918, 38, pp. 1-76.

³ There is, indeed a bust with the inscription ΣΑΠΦΩ ΕΡΕΣΙΑ given by Bellori *Image* 63 and pictured by Wolf in the frontispiece of his *Sappho* but the inscription is a forgery.

⁴ The only picture of Sappho we hear of was by a painter named Leon (see above).

may very likely have exaggerated its merits, calls it *opus tam perfectum tam elegans tam elaboratum* If not a masterpiece, it must at all events have been a fine work of art, though Silanion did not stand in the highest rank of sculptors Words can scarcely express, says Cicero, the sense of loss felt by the people of Syracuse, when this splendid work of art was carried away by Verres, leaving only its base with a very noble inscription in Greek upon it, discarded, he maliciously asserts, because Verres could not read it¹ Why the Syracusans held Sappho in such honour is not known, but it may have some connexion with her flight to Sicily Theocritus, himself a Syracusan, was, as his imitations of her show, an admirer of Sappho in the third century B C Possibly, as we have already seen, this very statue was portrayed on a Syracusan coin²

§ 61 The only other statue, of which we have any knowledge, is one which existed much later in the gymnasium called Zeuxippos in Constantinople Christodorus, a poet of Egypt about A D 500, thus speaks of it in his metrical description of the statuary there

The Lesbian Sappho there at rest was wrought,
The clear-voiced sweet Pierian bee,³
Giving the silent Muses all her thought
She seemed to weave some lovely melody

No certain copy of this statue has come down to us

§ 62 Before glancing at the numerous busts and statues that have been called *Sappho*, we must discuss a little

¹ Probably the epigram of Antipater given above, p 45

² Though some (Winter and Bernoulli) think that the Albani bust is taken from Silanion's statue

³ On the gem in the Marlborough Collection generally taken to represent Sappho, there are in the field a lyre and a bee

more fully one of the main points which lead to this identification and the one which chiefly connects them with the so-called Sappho coins of the early periods. This is the style of coiffure which we find depicted on the different busts and coins. But as the different types to some extent run into one another it is not always easy to differentiate them.

There are three general types (a) a coif or kerchief¹ covering the whole head² so that no hair shows at all. French writers sometimes call this a *cécryphale* and the Germans *haube*. That something similar may even still be in use among the Greeks seems probable from an entry in Lady Franklin's Diary (6th July 1858)³ where she speaks of a Greek lady of Chalcis whose head was covered in an indescribable way with a silk kerchief entirely covering it passing from the forehead behind.⁴ Possibly something of the same kind was meant by the *χειρόμακτρα* sent by Sappho for Aphrodite.⁵ (b) The second variety is often termed the *σάκκος*⁶ where the hair is mostly covered by a wrap but some is left visible either quite at the back as in the Antonine coins and the Dzialinski vase and the lovely Vienna bust or on the hinder part of the

¹ For examples see Wolf's *Sappho* Frontispiece, No. 3 and the Agostino gem, *ibid.*, No. 2 also the beautiful gem in King's *Hand book* pl. lix, 6 the Albani *Status* and the *Tête du cécryphale* Pottier (*Corr Hellén.* i, 596) the Pitti Palace bust and the terra cotta relief at Rome.

² Also found on Phocaean coins. There seems to have been an agreement between Phocaea and Mitylene as to a common coinage. See Newton *Trans Roy Society of Literature* 1866

³ See under date, Lady Franklin's Diary—in her Life by W F Rawmley 1923

Gipsies sometimes wear a similar head-dress.

⁴ Fragm. 97

This is also applied sometimes to the little cup made by the sphendone to hold up the back knot of the hair.

crown as in the Albani bust, and some of the early coins of Lesbos,¹ or in streaks or slits here and there where the folds of the bands do not overlap, as in the Terme bust at Rome and the one in the Galeria Geografica at the Vatican and the bust in the British Museum, 1828 (c) There is thirdly the sphendoné or "sling" type of head-dress. The hair is wound about with one or more bands, a part of which broadens out like a sling. These bands are wound round the hair twice or thrice, separating the back portion in a knot or tuft, which is held up by a small cup of band-cloth like a little *sakkos*.² Such an arrangement of the hair is seen on the "Oxford" bust, and the *τάλας* vase, and in the figures on the Athenian hydria. Noticeable, too, is the straight line of the crown of the head carried right on to the end of the back knot.

Two other characteristic features of the coiffure deserve mention. These are the little spiral curls that are seen beside the ears in some of the older busts and statues, as in the Hope Statue at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the Albani bust,³ and a trait which Professor Gardner says is more archaic, the long curls which fall down upon the neck and shoulders, as in the janiform bust at Madrid⁴ and the Bellori bust with the forged inscription,⁵ and in the Munich vase of Alcaeus and Sappho.

§ 63 There must be nearly fifty busts or statues, which at different times and by various persons have

¹ Cf. Brit. Mus. Catal. *Troas*, etc., pl. xxiii, 7.

² This is sometimes named opisthosphendoné.

³ Also in some of the electrum and bronze coins of Lesbos, cf. too the Lansdowne bust.

⁴ See Furtwangler, *Masterpieces*, p. 68.

⁵ See frontispiece to Wolf's *Sappho*.

been taken to represent Sappho but at least a third of these are more or less fanciful attributions. Not one can be dated earlier than the middle of the fifth century B.C. that is more than 100 years after the probable date of Sappho's death and a quarter of a century subsequent to the issue of the earliest coins of Lesbos.

The earliest type of statue assignable as a Sappho¹ is shown by its style to be of the Pheidalian school, and may as Furtwängler and others think be modelled on a draped Aphrodite by Pheidias. These have the early spiral curls and the narrow eyes characteristic of statues of Aphrodite. There is no likelihood that we have a real historical portrait of Sappho in any of these busts. The varieties of the type presented and the divergence from the coin type make it impossible to accept such a view. But on the other hand we cannot regard these representations of her as purely conventional in the same sense as for instance are the busts of Homer. Perhaps a goddess was originally typified but the head afterwards individualized to represent a mortal.

§ 64. A second series of heads somewhat later in date than the preceding consists of many examples and is best exemplified by the Oxford bust the Castellani bust in the British Museum the bust in the possession of Sir Alfred Mond from the late Sir J. C. Robinson's sale and the Madrid bust though there are several other excellent replicas. This has less of the divine type and partakes more of an individualized portrait character. But the experts label it Aphrodite. The Oxford bust has been taken by some to portray a courtesan.

¹ e.g. the statue in Mus. Arch. at Florence see Furtwängler and Gardner *IJ* and the Hope statue in the Ashmolean at Oxford. Bernoulli, I, 72, dismisses the Cleopatra type, which preceded this one, as not held by anyone to be Sappho.

§ 65 But it is when we get to the Albani bust that we feel with some confidence that an individual and woman, not a goddess,¹ is intended, the set and rather full lips and firm jaw bespeak a portrait. Hence it is that some have found in this head a replica of Silanion's statue.² It also goes back more nearly to the early coins of Lesbos in its coif and spiral curls. The face and coiffure differ entirely from those of the Oxford bust and its congeners. In the latter the face is nearly oblong, the lips thick and slightly parted. The hair is not covered with a coif, as in the Albani head, but bound with three bands, one over the forehead, letting some locks escape and line the forehead, the second passing over the crown and holding up the back hair with the sphendoné, the third dividing the knot of hair at the back from the rest. The expression is pleasing and somewhat sentimental. Bernoulli,³ describing the general type, which owing to its widespread occurrence cannot be lightly dismissed, says of the coiffure "The hair tuft at the back is gathered into a small *sakkos* (i.e. the cup or sling of the sphendoné), from which run bands in three different directions, and are wound round the head. One end passes obliquely over the crown forwards, and is threaded with a little point through the forehead band. The hair is gathered and coiled over the ears, as in the Albani *statue*,⁴ under the band. In some cases two wisps of hair are released and fall over the shoulders."

¹ Though this is the general view of experts who take it to be Persephone

² e.g. Winter, *Jahrb d Inst* v, 1890, pl. iii, and Gardner, *JHS* 1918, No. 38

³ *Griech. Iconographie*, 1, p. 70

⁴ Kaffeehaus, No. 749, representing a goddess. The Albani bust is *Casino*, No. 1033



PLATE VIII



§ 66 A bust which has been associated (as a Sappho) with the Albani type is the beautiful Vienna bust¹. The hair is nearly entirely covered by the kerchief being seen only in little streaks here and there. But this is now known to be the head of Hygieia as is seen from the statue in the possession of Sir Alfred Mond with an identical head and a serpent wreathed round the body. The eyes with their broad lids are cast down in a dreamy look. The originality of the whole conception is manifest. A later and more Praxitelean copy of this bust unfortunately much damaged is in the Terme Museum at Rome. We may now definitely rule this out as a bust of Sappho. One other bust deserves particular mention—the Pitti Palace bust—dating from the fourth century and a little later than the last mentioned. It is somewhat distantly related to the Albani bust but goes back to the coif treatment of the hair. It is still more obviously a portrait even than the Albani bust and a poetess is certainly intended. Gardner ascribes to it passion and enthusiasm. The style is that of Skopas. The lips are slightly parted and the head bends forward in a life-like and speaking attitude. If not Sappho it must be one of the other well known poetesses of ancient times². Korinna perhaps or Erinna or Myrtis or Praxilla.

§ 67 There is also the Uffizi³ head at Florence with its noble and somewhat sad face. It does not seem to conform closely to any of the above types. It is a portrait. Bernoulli adds it to the list of replicas given by Furtwängler of the Madrid bust type. There are many other isolated and divergent busts somewhat

¹ *Antiken-Sammlung* 201
See Tatian, *Or ad Graec.* 52 B.
² Recalling the older idea.

rashly named "Sappho", such as the one at Wilton house,¹ the bronze bust from Herculaneum, now at Naples, which looks as if it might have been the bust of a modern lady, the Biscari head from Catana,² the bust lately in Sir J C Robinson's collection,³ the fresco from Pompeii of a young poetess holding a stilus to her lips, like Byron in Thorwaldsen's statue in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and others mentioned by Michaelis⁴ and elsewhere

§ 68. What, then, are the general characteristics which justify us in supposing that, in one or two of these types at all events, the sculptor intended to portray Sappho? These characteristics are, according to Bernoulli, apart from all reference to the coins, the Muse-like or poetic character, and in various instances the lips parted as if for singing, a lyre or roll held in the hand. There is moreover the celebrity and antiquity of the type. Some highly honoured woman must be meant. Portraiture is certainly intended in more than one example. Whom did the sculptor mean to portray? Is any individual woman more likely than Sappho?

Bronze and Terra-cotta Reliefs of Sappho

§ 69. Before passing on to the terra-cotta reliefs and gems, one small bronze must be mentioned. It is in the British Museum,⁵ and represents a small reclining figure with a seven-stringed lyre, wearing a chiton and himation, with right shoulder bare. The

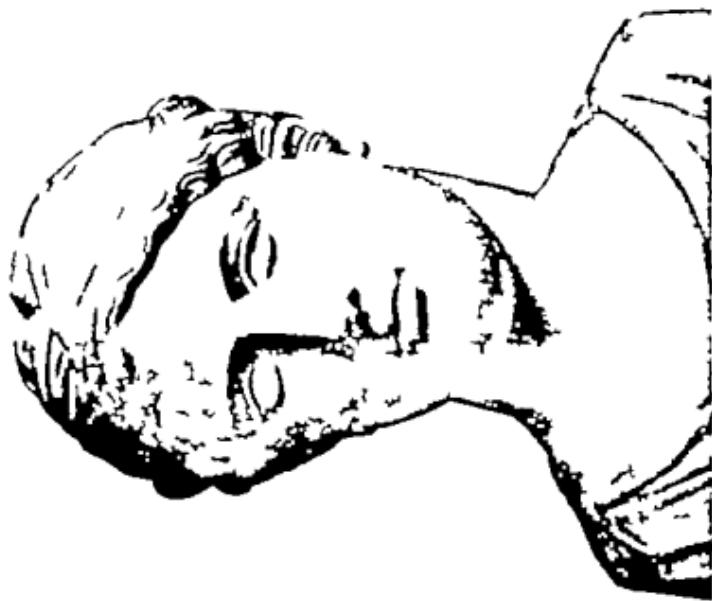
¹ Illustrated by Vandergucht, see J Addison's *Sappho*

² See *Rev Arch* 1901, p 301, plates xxii-xxvii

³ Now in Sir Alfred Mond's possession

⁴ *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*

⁵ Guide to the Bronze Room, 1871, p 36, 7. It was intended as an attachment to some mirror or ornament of that sort. The date is about 480 B C. It came from S Italy. For illustration see p 188



FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS OF THE ALBANI BUST
(Full-Size, B.C.)

eyes are large and the full lips slightly open with a somewhat manæ smile. Whether it is intended for Sappho or some other lyrist no one can tell for certain

§ 70 Only two terra-cotta reliefs representing Sappho or supposed to represent her exist. Bernoulli calls them *zweifelhaft*. One which is in the British Museum represents a female figure sitting on the right holding a seven-strunged lyre upright with her right and a plectrum in her left hand. Opposite her is a bearded figure holding her lyre with his left, and in his right a nondescript object he is in a slightly stooping attitude with down cast eyes while she with a firm expression gazes at him. A single band confines her hair of which the back knot or tuft seems to be in a *sakkos*. There appear to be obvious reasons for recognizing Alcaeus and Sappho in the two figures here. He is grasping her lyre as a gesture of deprecation for the severe reproof which we seem also to perceive in the vase picture from Agrigentum.

§ 71 The other relief is or was in the possession of a sculptor at Rome. It is of Roman times. For a description see Jahn.¹ The figure is sitting side-face to right with an outer garment of many folds covering the lower part of her body leaving the whole upper portion to the waist bare. The head is completely covered with a cloth kerchief such as Jahn says is used by women careless about their head-dress. The left hand lets the lyre sink, the right falls down listlessly by her side the right leg being bent backwards under her as if she was going to stand upright but, from the pose of the body appears not to have the power to do so. The head is thrown back so that the face is

¹ Otto Jahn, *Abhandl. d. phil.-hist. Klasse kgl. Sächs.-Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften*, vol. iii, Leipzig, 1881.

nearly horizontal, the eyes are closed, and the attitude one of dreamy reverie and overpowering passion. The lips are slightly open, as if for the last expiring notes of her song to issue from them—a song of which she herself and no other is the subject. One can scarcely doubt, says Jahn, that Sappho was intended. She was, or became, a type of unhappy love, as is seen in the *τάλας* vase, and a master-worker in the poet's art. He also points out the vast changes in manners, civilization, and art, that intervene between the vase picture and this presentment of her.

§ 72 There remain the six or seven gems, on only two of which is Sappho's name inscribed, the genuineness of the inscription being in both cases challenged. The best known gem is perhaps the one from the Marlborough Collection,¹ a cornelian with a woman's head to right incised upon it. The hair is not arranged in any of the fashions described above, but with three plaits used as a band over the forehead, a tuft showing loose ends at the back, and a tress or two falling on the nape. Behind is ΣΑΦ, and in front a ten-stringed lyre and a bee.² King doubts the authenticity of these adjuncts, and seems to think the spelling of the name a sign of forgery, but this by no means certain.³ He considers the head to be one of Aphrodite converted. But if not Sappho, it is more likely to be a Muse than Aphrodite.

§ 73 The second inscribed stone is the one which was in the collection of the Abbé Gravelle.⁴ On it is a lyre-playing figure, leaning against a pillar on which

¹ Reinach, *Pierres Gravées*, pl. cxii, King, *Handbook of Gems*, pl. lxix, 7.

² See Epigram above, § 61.

³ See § 77.

⁴ See *Recueil de pierres Gravées*, Gravelle, ii, 81, Reinach, *Pierres Grav.*, pl. lxxx.



SAPPHO AND ALCAEUS
(From terracotta relief now in the British Museum)

is incised the name ΣΑΠΦΩ. This is possibly taken from the coin of which a specimen is at Vienna with the head of Julia Procla on the obverse and Sappho on the reverse playing a lyre which is set on a pillar

§ 74. Similar in some of its details is a gem in the British Museum¹—a broken sard of the fifth century B.C.—which shows a female draped figure sitting in a chair reading from a scroll as on the Athenian hydria. In front stands a pedestal with a lyre placed upon it on which the word ΕΡΩC is lightly scratched. This is most probably a later addition. King in his *Handbook of Engraved Gems* gives a gem (paste) from a fine Greek work.² The hair is completely covered by a coif as in the early coins. A flowered circlet is slightly indicated on the forehead. The mouth is partly open. It may be Sappho or a Muse or a Sibyl.

§ 75. The two gems³ depicted in Faber are not now believed to represent Sappho. They give similar heads in an oval wreath one of laurel berries the other of ivy. They are portraits and give a strong masculine type of face. They are carefully incised the hair being elegantly bound with a kerchief apparently in three folds.

This completes all the evidence there is bearing upon Sappho's external appearance. Can we gather from it any real idea of what Sappho was like in look and dress?

§ 76. It must be confessed that we can form no adequate conception of her from such conflicting testimony. We cannot be sure whether she wore a

¹ No 558. A second "Sappho" gem in the Br. Mus. No 1505 is not antique. See p. 188.

² Plate lix, 6

³ *Image 129* Agostino, i, pl. 75 Raspe, No. 10188 Gori, *Mus. Florentinum*, 1731-66 see also Wolf's *Sappho* frontispiece, 2. Possibly Sappho appears on a gem in the *Museum Regium* (*Ephemerides*, Paris, 1716, ii, 69)

kerchief over her hair, as is probable, or the ἀνάδεσμος¹ and the purple bands² of the sphendoné with the little *sakkos* at the back to hold up the back knot. Possibly she wore ear-rings and a necklace, and had the two little spiral curls beside the ears or a tress or two of long hair falling upon her shoulders. Her eyes were probably large and her lips full, but not weak, and her jaw firm and not somewhat retreating as in the Uffizi bust.

The Name Sappho

§ 77 This may be derived from the root of *σαφῆς* and mean clear-voiced, or perhaps bright³. We find the name spelt in a great many ways. The form Sappho herself prefers is the Æolian *Ψάπφα*, which appears in Fragment 3 put into Aphrodite's mouth, and in Fragm 7 into that of a friend. The spelling *Ψα<π>φω* is found on a Mitylenaean coin of the Antonine Period, and *Ψαπφω* on a Lesbian coin of Pius. The vocative is used by Sappho in Fragments 98 and 110. The early Dzialiński vase, about 480 B.C., spells the name ΘΣΘΑΟ. In all other examples the name begins with a Σ.

Σαπφώ is found in Alcaeus, *Fragm* 55, on a coin of Eresus in Commodus' time, and on the Middleton vase, *circa* 450 B.C., the Mylonas vase has ΣΑΠΦΥ (= either *Σαπφώ* or *Σαπφοῦς*), *Σαπφο* for *Σαπφω* is found on a gem, and on a red-figured lecythus⁴ with the same ο for ω. *Σαφφω*, the modern form, is first seen on an Antonine coin of Eresus, and the Latin Saffo (or Sappho) in Porphyrius ad Hor *Sat* 11, 1, 30, *Epist* 1, 9, 38.

¹ See Epigram on Doricha above, § 11.

² See Anth. Pal. vi, 211.

³ For other derivations see Wolf's *Sappho*, p. 1.

⁴ See above, § 73.



FOUR GEMS SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT SAPPHO

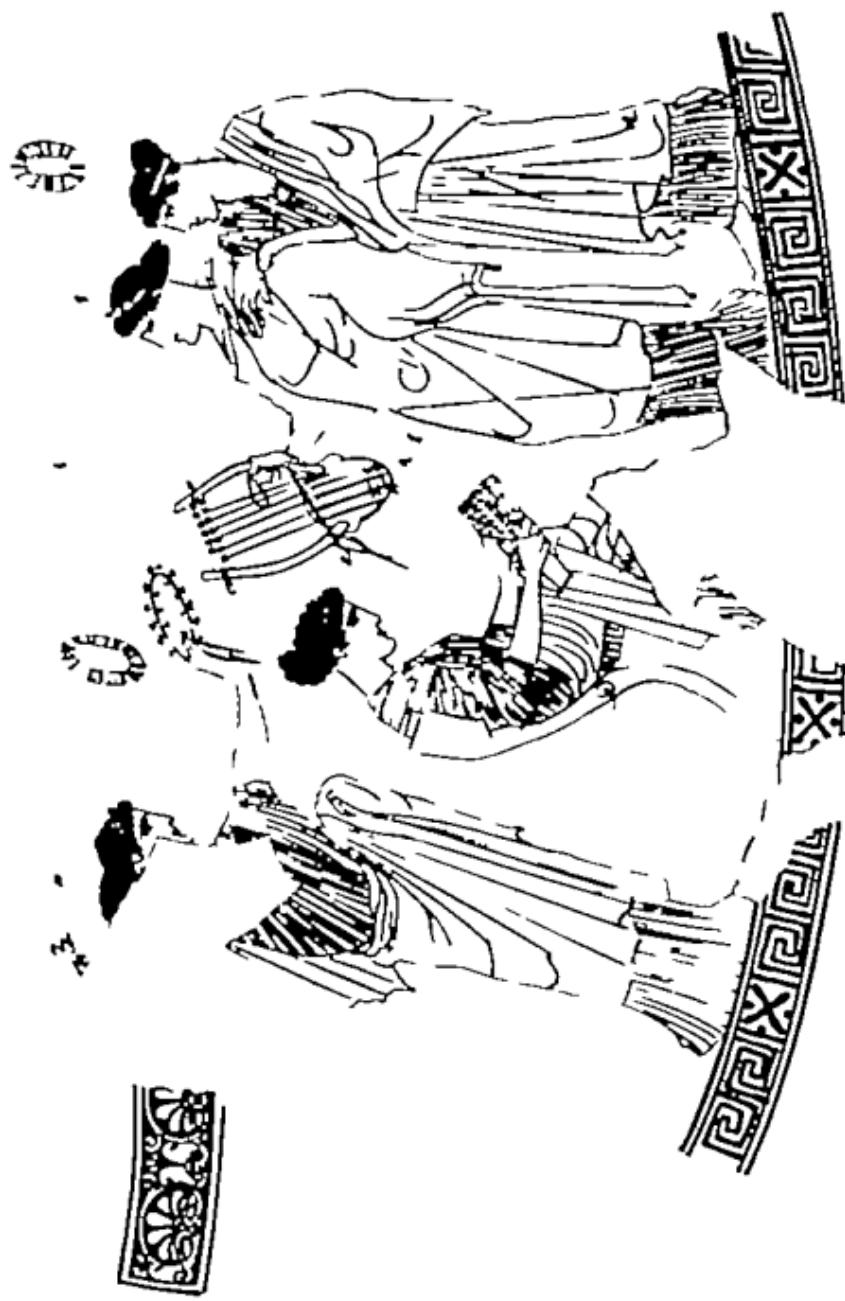
The Athenian hydria appears to have had (for it is now illegible) ΣΑΓΓΩΣ. A coin of Mitylene given by Sestini but probably forged gives ΣΑΦΟΥ· At the foot of Fragm. 141 the Οχυτ Ραρυτος gives ΣΑΦΟΥΣ the Munich vase ΣΑΦΟ the Michaelis vase ΣΑΟ (?) ΣΑΟ) and a probably spurious coin given by Sestini ΣΑ The Marlborough gem has ΣΑΦ

FRAGMENT OF A LIFE OF SAPPHO

From Οχ. Ραρυπ 1800 Vol. xv p 138

Περὶ Σαπφοῖς

[Σαπφω τὸ μὲν γένος] ἦν Λ[εσβία πόλεως δὲ Μιτ]υλήνης
 [πατρὸς δὲ Σκαμ]άνδρου κα[τὰ δὲ τις Σκα]μανδρων]μου
 ἀδελφοὺς δέ] εσχε τρεῖς [Ερ]ῆ[γυιον καὶ Λά]ριχον πρεσβύ-
 [τανον δὲ Χάρ]αξον ος πλεῦσας ε[ἰς Αιγαίον] Δωρέχα τινι
 προσομοιλη]τῆς κατεδαπάνησεν εἰς ταυτην πλεῖστα τὸν δὲ
 Λάριχον(νέον) οντα μᾶλλον ἡγάπησεν θυγατέρα δ εσχε
 Κλειν διμωνυμον τῇ ἑαυτῆς μητρὶ κατηγόρηται δ υπ
 ἐνίων ως ατακτος οὐ[σα] τὸν τρόπον καὶ γυναικε[ρασ]τρία
 τῇ δὲ μορφὴν[ευ]καταφρόνητος δοκει γε[γον]ένα[ι καὶ] δυσ
 ειδεστάτη τὴν μὲν γάρ ὄψιν φαιωδῆς υπηρχεν τὸ δὲ μέγεθος
 μικρὰ παντελῶς τὸ δ αὐτὸ συμβέβηκε καὶ περὶ τὸν
 [] ν ἐλάττω [] γεγονα[] ην



SAPPHO HONoured BY HER PUPILS

(From *Hydria in the Athene Museum* Middle of Fifth Century B.C.)

THE POEMS OF SAPPHO

1

See vase-painting facing this page and above
§ 48 (5) Edmonds 1^a

Θέοι περλων ἐπέων αρχομαι δ[λ]λ ανα[ι]τιων
Or possibly ανάτων (Edm ὀνατῶν)

*Words light as air I handsel here
But blameless in the ears that hear*

2

Bergk 45 Edmonds 80

Glyconic *App* 18

Hermogenes iii 17 ed. Walz Οταν τὴν λυραν ἀρωτῇ
ἢ Σαπφω καλ οταν αὐτῇ αποκρίνηται καλ τὰ ἔφῆς

*Aye [δῆ] χέλυ δῦδ μοι
φωνέσσα δὲ γίνεο*

Eustathius *Iliad* xi 41 says Sappho uses a Homeric
figure in addressing her lyre The exact reading of the
lines is uncertain

Hermogenes When Sappho questions her lyre and it
answers and the sequel —

To her Lyre

*Come now O Lyre of mine
Lift up thy voice divine!*

Bergk, I, Edm I

Sapphic, App 16

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Compos* 23, quotes this poem in full as an instance of the smooth and ornate style (*γλαφυρὰ καὶ ἀνθηρὰ σύνθεσις*)

*Ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφρόδιτα,
παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαι σε,
μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὄνιαισι δάμνα,
πότνια, θῦμον.*

5 ἀλλὰ τυίδ' ἔλθ', αἴ ποτα κάτέρωτα
τᾶς ἔμας αὖδως ἀτοισα πήλυν
ἔκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα
χρύσιον ἥλθες

10 ἄρμ' ὑπασδεύξαισα, κάλοι δέ σ' ἄγον
ώκεες στροῦθοι περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας
πύκνα δίννεντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὡράνω αἴθερ-
ος διὰ μέσσω,

15 αῖψα δ' ἐξίκοντο · σὺ δ' ὁ μάκαιρα,
μειδιάσαιο' ἀθανάτω προσώπῳ
ῆρε', ὅττι δηῦτε πέπονθα κῶττι
δηῦτε κάλημι,

κῶττρ' ἔμω μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι
μαινόλα θύμῳ “τίνα δηῦτε Πείθω

‘*Ανθηρά* lit flowery, yet not in our sense, but “ with all the colour and delicate associations of a flower ”

1 v1 *ποικιλόθρον'* Pliny, *NH* 36, 6, tells us that marble with spots of many colours was found in Lesbos

10 *στροῦθοι* see Athen ix, 391 C, *περὶ γᾶς μ* cf Ox Pap 1231, 9

11 Οτ *ὅρρανω*

15 MS *δ' ἦν το P*

18 Οτ *πειθωμαὶ σ'*

μαῖσ αγην ἐς σὸν φιλότατα τὸν σ ὁ

20 Ψάπφ ἀδικήει

καὶ γὰρ αἱ φεύγει τάχεως διαξεῖ

αἱ δὲ δῶρα μή δέκετ αλλὰ δωσεῖ

αἱ δὲ μή φίλει τάχεως φίλησει

καυκ ἐθέλοισα

25 Σλθε μοι καὶ μή χαλίπαν δὲ λύσον

ἐκ μερίμναν οσσα δέ μοι τέλεσσας

θῦμος ἴμερρει τέλεσσον σὺ δαυτα

σύμμαχος ξυσσο

21 Cf. Theocrit. 6. 17

24 Not ἀθλητας as Welcker

27 Cf. Ovid, *Heroid.* xv. 57

Except 71 (?) the only complete poem which we have
of Sappho's. It probably stood first in the Alexandrian
edition of her works in nine books according to metres

A Prayer to Aphrodite

Immortal Cyprus of the marbled throne

Daughter of Zeus for all wiles are thine own

Crush not my soul O Lady Queen

with care and teen

5 But hither come if Thou in days gone by

Didst ever leave thy Father's home on high

Delighting from far my prayers to hear

with listening ear

And camest in thy golden car that straight

10 Thy dainty sparrows down from Heaven's gate

With quick wings winnowing the air

o'er dark Earth bare

1 But see Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides*, p. 44

10 Horace *Od.* iii. 28. 14 gives Venus a team of swans; and swans draw Apollo's chariot in 108.

And, lo ! were here , and Thou, O Lady Blest,
Thy lovely face in smiles immortal drest,
15 Didst ask what ills assailed me ? Why
this wistful cry ?

For what new boon with frenzied soul I prayed
Above all else, and "Who", saidst thou, "the maid
Whose love you fain would win? Who so works
Sappho woe?

If now she spurns, she soon shall seek your side,
If gifts she scorns, to give shall be her pride,
If she kiss not, she soon shall kiss,
 coy though she is ”

25 Come, Queen, now also, and thy suppliant save
From carking cares All that my heart would crave
Bring thou to pass, and be my friend
still to the end

4

Bergk, 2, Edm 2
Sapphic, App 16

This famous lyric preserved for us by the so-called Longinus in his treatise *On the Sublime* (§ 10), scarcely to be matched for its exquisite art and intense passion, has in respect to its subjective meaning met with the most divergent interpretations. Passionate love for a girl is certainly portrayed, but though the writer speaks in the first person, she may surely be depicting passion as a poet, not as a woman, and in any case the rival here is a man, and no definite individual either, as ὅττις shows. There is no real reason to suppose that Anactoria is alluded to. The same difficult problem confronts us in the

case of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. Are they masterpieces of pure objective imagination or hot with real personal feeling? Catullus as a lyrist the nearest Roman rival to Sappho has translated this poem.¹ This lyric is quoted or imitated among others by Plato Theocritus Lucretius Plutarch Lucian Horace and Tennyson

See Wilamowitz *Sappho und Simonides* pp 56 ff. He seems to think that it is a wedding poem.

Φαίνεται μοι κῆρος ισος θέοισιν
ἔμμεν ανηρ ὅττις ἐνδυτίος τοι
ἴζανει καὶ πλάσιον ἀδυν φωνεῖ
σας ὑπακούει

5 καὶ γελασας ἵμερον τό μοι μάν
καρδιαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἀπτάσσειν
ας γὰρ [ες] σι ιδω βροχέως με φωνας
οὐδεν ἔτι ἵκει

10 ἀλλὰ κάμ μὲν γλῶσσα Φέαγε λέπτον δ
αυτικα χρῷ πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμακεν
διππάτεσσι δ οὐδεν ορημ ἐπιρρόμ
βειοι δ ακουας

15 ἀ δέ μ ίδρως κακχέται τρόμος δὲ
παισαν δύρει χλωροτέρα δὲ πολας
εμμι τεθνάκην δ ὀλίγω πιθεύην
φαίνομαι []

ἀλλὰ πᾶν τόλματον ἀπει [καὶ] πένητα

1 Another fragment, quoted by Apoll., *de Pronom* 366 A, begins very similarly φαίνεται Φοι κῆρος (Bergk, 111 = Edm. 26)

2 Cf. 40_b below

7 For βρόχως MS. Edm. reads Βρόχοις or Βρόχα, voc. of Βρόχως = Βραχελος (to correspond to the name Lesbia in Catullus transl.) followed by ας Lobel, βρόχες δε με φωναιο

11 Cf. Archil. 103

16 For ἄλλα (= frenzied) Hermann reads Α οι Paton and Wilam. Αγαλλι.

¹ Cf. *Introd.* § 7 n.

To a beloved girl

Like to the Gods I deem him blest,
 Who face to face with thee, thy guest,
 Sits welcome with ears rapt to hear
 thy voice so sweet, so near,

5 Thy lovely laugh that sight doth make
 The heart within my bosom shake !
 When I but glance at thee, no word
 from my dumb lips is heard,

10 My tongue is tied, a subtle flame
 Leaps in a moment o'er my frame,
 I see not with mine eyes, my ear
 can only murmurs hear,

15 Sweat dews my brow, quick tremors pass
 Through every limb, more wan than grass
 I blanch, and frenzied, nigh to death,
I gasp away my breath

[But be his fortune e'er so ill
 The poor man must endure it still]

Catullus to his Lesbia

The peer of any God I deem that guest,
 Nay e'en, if that may be, than Gods more blest,
 Who sitting face to face with thee
 Can hear at once and see

5 Thee sweetly smiling which, but seen, doth daze,
 Ah me ! my every sense, for while I gaze
 Lesbia, on thee, no more *a word*
From my dumb lips is heard,

My tongue is palsied and a subtle flame
 10 Runs deeply down into my very frame
 Sounds ring within mine ears my sight
 Is sealed with double night.

5

Ox. Pap 1231 15, Edm 45 Lobel, 11 He begins
 with Ox. Pap 1231, 13

Sapphic App 16

Gongyla to whom apparently these mutilated stanzas
 are addressed came from Colophon and was one of
 Sappho's pupils.

[Σὺν τύχῃ σπειθούσῃ] κέλομαι σ[ε]
 [Γόγγυσιλα []νθι λάβοισα μέντυν]
 [γλα]κτίναν σὲ δηῦτε πόθος τ[ις ἀμος]
 ἀμφιπόταται

5 τὰν κέλλαν α γέρ κατάγωγις αυτα
 ἐπτόαισι ἰδοισαν εγω δὲ χαίρω
 καὶ γέρ αυτα δῆ π[οτ]ε ἐμεμ[φόμαν τὰν]
 Κυπρογέν[ην]
 [τ]ᾶς αραμα[ι]
 10 τοῦτο τῷ
 [β]όλλομα[ι]

2 Wilam. Edm. βρόβενθι. μέντον is very uncertain.

3 γλαττ Wilam. Lobel πέντε δι.

4 Hor., Od. 1, 2, 34 Q Smyrn. 5 71

7 Possibly τέττ Diehl reads τ γέ μέρφεται σοι Κυπρογένη.

*I bid thee hither come and God thee bless
 Sweet Gongyla put on thy milk white dress
 For round thee, lovely as thou art
 Flits the sweet longing of my heart*

5 It thrills me through thy very robe to see
 Afar and I rejoice that this should be

For I too dared once in the past
 Blame on the Cyprus-born to cast
*[But may she pardon me my fault and deign
 To give thee to my longing back again]*

6

Berlin. Klass.-Texte, P 9722, 5. Edm 86, Wilam.
 S u S, p 53 f

Glyconic, *Apf* 18, 23, 32

The opening words of this beautiful lyric are lost, and we do not know to which member of Sappho's circle it is addressed. The Atthis, spoken of in line 17, is mentioned by Suidas as one of Sappho's *έταιραι καὶ φίλαι*, and is compared by Maximus Tyrius (xxiv, 9) with Charmidas, as holding a similar place in the affections of Socrates. She seems, however (see *Fragm* 19), to have deserted Sappho for a rival teacher, Andromeda, though Sappho had known her from childhood. Ovid (*Heroid*, xv, 18) couples her name with those of Anactorie and Cydro (or Cydno). Wilamowitz, followed by Diehl, introduces the name Arignota in line 5. But there is no further record of her.

[*Γογγύλα μάκραν, Ἀτθι, φίλων ἀνεν*]

[*ναιέτας ἐνι*] *Σάρδ[εσιν]*

[*οἰκεῖ, πόλ*]λακι τυίδε [*ι*]ῶν *ἔχοισα*

ῶς πο[τ' ἐ]ζώμεν β[ίον, ἀ]ς ἔχεν

5 *σὲ θέᾳ Φικέλαν ἀρι—*

γνώτα σῷ δὲ μάλιστ' ἔχαιρε μόλπα

*νῦν δὲ Λύδαισιν ἐμπρέπεται γνωά-
 κεσσιν, ὡς ποτ' ἀελίω*

δύντος ἀ βροδοδάκτυλος σελάννα

4 *βίον ἀς*, Edm. The whole line is very doubtful. MS has colon before *β*. Schubart reads *βεβάως*, Diehl and Wilamowitz 'Αριγάώτα
 9 σελ Schubart for *μήνα* MS

10 πάντα περρέχοιστ *δοτρα* φάσις δὲ πι
οχει θάλασσαν ἐπι αλμύραν
ἴσως καὶ πολυανθέμοις αρουραῖς
ἀ δέέρσα κάλα κέχυται τεθά
λασι δὲ βρόδα κάπαλ αν-
15 θρυσκα καὶ μελλωτος ανθεμωδῆς
πόλλα δὲ ζαφοίταισι ἀγάνας ἐπι
μιάσθεισι Ατθίδος ίμέρω
λέπτων ποι φρένα κῆρος δοσι βόρηται
κῆθις δέλθην ἀμμι δένυ βοφι τὰ δὲ οὐ
20 νῦν γέ ἀπυστα νυξ πολυως
γαρνέ[ι δι'] ἀλον πα

On the verso of this MS says Edmonds is an un
mutilated but in its present condition indecipherable
poem of twenty lines

16 ζαφ. nom. pend. or if 3rd pers. sing. δ must be added after
κῆρος. However ζαφοίταισι may be part of subject, of βόρηται if
φρένα and κῆρος are both acc. of respect. Edm. reads κῆρα.

20 Οτ νῦντι = δέρρα (νόημι) Schubart.

21 For additional fragments of this poem see below p. 226

5 *O Attis from her friends away*
In Sardis dwells our Gongyla
Far off. But oft her thoughts recall
How erst we lived when in her eyes
5 A glorious goddess thou didst rise
And thy sweet songs were all in all.
But now with Lydian ladies met
She shines as when the sun is set
The moon with rosy fingers spread
10 Mid circling stars while o'er the seas
Salt foam and flower-enamel'd leas
Alike her lustrous light is shed

And, while the fair dew falls, upgrows
The delicate anthrysk with the rose
15 And clover's honey-scented bloom.

And often, going on her way,
Her thoughts to gentle Atthis stray,
And longing weighs her heart with gloom
"Oh, come!" she cries, nor all in vain
20 For the all-hearing Night again
Whispers the word across the main.

7

Berlin *Klass.-Texte*, P 9722, 2, Edm 83; Wilam.

S u S, p 49

Glyconic, Aph 18, 34

[*Nῦν ἂρ' Ἀτθις ἀποίχεται,*]
τεθνάκην δ' ἀδόλως θέλω
ἄ με φισδομένα κατελίππανεν
πόλλα, καὶ τοδ' ἔειπ[έ μοι]
5 "Ωιμ' ὡς δεῦνα πεπόνθαμεν
Ψάπφ', ἦ μάν σ' ἀέκοισ' ἀπυλιππάνω"
τὰν δ' ἔγω τάδ' ἀμειβόμαν
"χαίροισ' ἔρχεο κάμεθεν
μέμναισ' οἰσθα γὰρ ὡς σε πεδήπομεν
10 αὶ δὲ μή, ἀλλά σ' ἔγω θέλω
δμναισαι, σ[ὺ δὲ λάθ]εαι,
δσ[σα μάλθακα] καὶ κάλ' ἐπάσχομεν
πό[λλα δ' ὡς στεφάν]οις ἵων
καὶ βρ[όδων πλο]κίων τ' ὕμοι
15 και[ρίων] παρ' ἔμοι παρεθήκαο,

9 MS μέμναισθ'

10 μή coalesces with ἀ of ἀλλά, cf 811

12 Wilamowitz

καὶ π[όλλαις ὑπα]θυμίδας
 πλέκ[ταις ἀμφ'] απόλαφέρα
 αὐθέατος ἔράταν] πεποημένας
 καὶ πόλλωφ [λιπάρως] μύρωφ
 20 βρευθείρ φασιληρώφ
 ἔξαλενφασ κα[λλικομον κάρα]
 καὶ στρωμα[σε]πι μολθακω
 ἀπόλλω πα[]α ονων
 ἔξης πόθο[] νιδων
 25 κωντε τις []τε τι
 ίρον ουδ ὑ []
 ἐπλετ ὀππ[]μες απέσκομεν
 οὐκ ἀλσος [] αρος

19 Blatt. The MS has μέρα.

21 Blatt. But the new Fragm. (Lobel, p. 79) puts βασιλ. in this line.

22-28 Additions from Ox. Pap. xvi (Lobel, p. 78) Also γέρος at end of l. 29 and οὐδας at end of l. 30

Our Attis then afar is sped
 And I in sooth would fain be dead
 She as she went was weeping still
 And thus said sobbing in my ear
 5 How sad our lot O Sappho dear
 Ah but I go against my will !
 And her I answered thus again
 Good luck go with thee but remain
 Mindful of me whose only care
 10 Thou wast or else if thou forget
 I may not but remind thee yet
 How sweet a life was ours how fair !
 When many a wreath of violet
 And rose in timely garlands set
 15 Thou twinedst, sitting at my side

And many a chain of lovely flowers
 Wrought by our hands *in idle hours*
 About thy tender neck we tied ,

 And thou didst smooth *thy glossy hair*
 20 With many an unguent royal-rare
 That sweetly breathed a scent divine ,

 And as on cushions soft *we lay*
 Thy longing thou didst put away

8

Ox Pap 1231, 1, Edm 38
Sapphic, Aph 16.

We cannot tell to whom this ode was addressed, unless in line 15 we read *Ἀνακτορία*, but it was some member of Sappho's circle no doubt

οὶ μὲν ἵππήων στρότον οἱ δὲ πέσδων
 οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπὶ γᾶν μέλαιναν
 ἔμμεναι κάλλιστον ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὅτ-
 τω τις ἔραται

5 [πά]γχυ δ' εῦμαρες σύνετον πόησαι
 [π]άντι τοῦτ' ἀ γὰρ πόλυ περσκ[όπ]εισα
 [κάλ]λος [ἀνθ]ρώπων Ἐλένα τὸν ἄνδρα
 [κρίνε κάλ]ιστον,

 [ὅς τὸ πὰν] σέβας Τροῖα[s δ]λεσσε
 10 [κωύδε π]αῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων τοκήων
 [οῦδεν] ἐμνάσθη, [ἀλλὰ] παρά[γα]γ' αὔταν
 [φαῦλα φίλει]σαν

2 Cf 1₁₀, Ox Pap 1231, 9₆. Here we should expect γᾶς

4 = Bergk 13, from Apoll, *Synt* 291

8 Lobel suggests πρῶλιπε

[Κύπρις εὐκ]αμπτον γὰρ [δεὶ τὸ θηλυ]

[αἱ κέ]τις κούφως τ[ὸ πάρον] νοῆσῃ

15 [ἀλλὰ νῦν Ανακτορῆ[ας τὸ μέ]μραιο
[οὐ] παρεολασ

[τὰ]ς κε βολλούμαν ἔρατόν τε βάμα
καμάρυγμα λάμπρον Ιδην προσωπω
ἢ τὰ Λίδων ἀρματα καν δπλοισι

20 [πεσδομ]άχεντας

[εὖ μὲν Ιδ]μεν οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι
[πάντα] ἐν ἀνθρωποις πεδέχην δέρασθαι
[εστιν αἴπερ οἱ μάκαρες θέλοισιν]
[δύμαν αρήγητην]

This poem is followed in the MS. by a single stanza of which only the words τ εξ δδοκήτω remain. This may be part of the above poem or a single stanza poem.

13 δεὶ κ.τ.λ. Edm.

15 Or τῇλε for δλλδ. Lobel reads [δ]ηλεμένο

20 So Rackham Εἴ κ.τ.λ. Wilm.

21 Cf. Ox. Pap. 1291 2. Ε μὴ Ιδ Wilm. Lobel says not Ιδ

Some think a gallant navy on the sea,
And some a host of foot or horse to be
Earth's fairest thing but I declare
the one we love more fair

5 Right easy is the proof that all may know
How true my saying is for Helen though
Much mortal beauty she might scan
judged him the fairest man

Who in the dust Troy's majesty defiled
10 Nor rather of her parents dear and child
Had thought but Cyprus-led astray
cherished an ill love's way

For nowise hard is *woman's will* to sway
 If from home thoughts she lightly turn away
 15 So now far Anactoria be
 in memory nigh to thee !

Whose sweet foot-fall I would more gladly hear,
 And the bright glory of her face see near,
 Than Lydian chariots in the field
 20 and foot with spear and shield
 Full well we know that mortals may not fare
 In all things well albeit to crave a share
 In what is well *is not denied*,
 if Heaven be on our side

19 Anactoria, it seems, was in Lydia

9

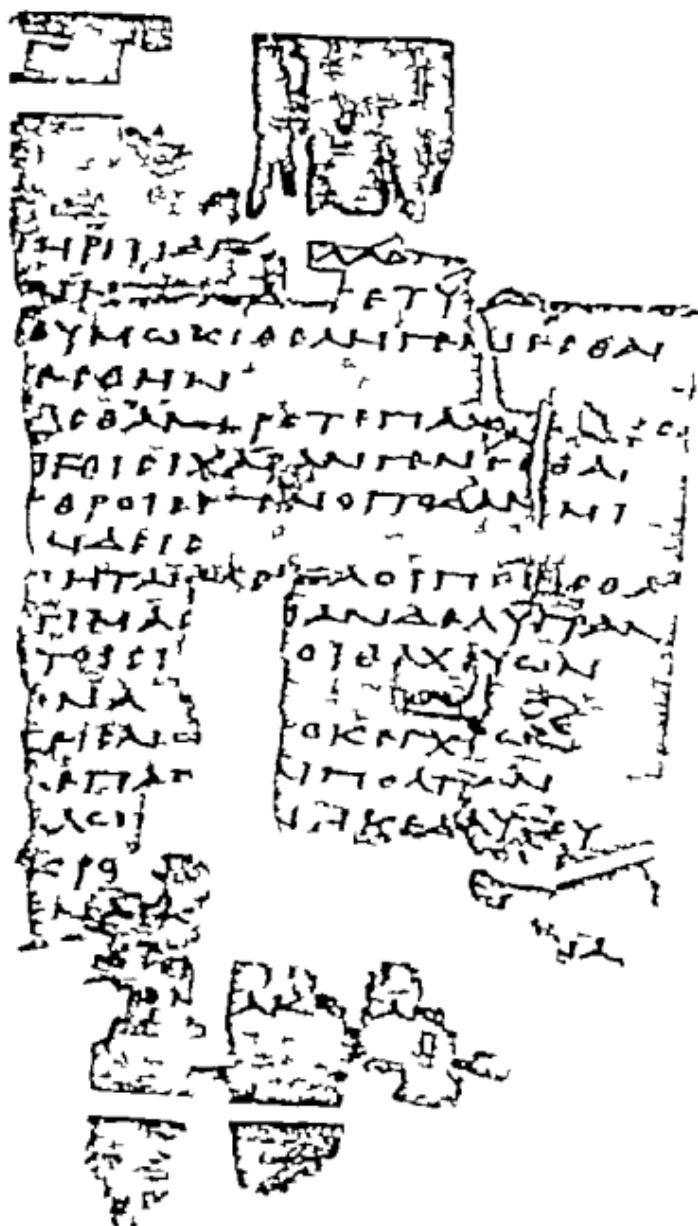
Ox Pap 7, Edm 36, Weir Smyth, *Lyric Poets*,
 P 35 See Plate 14
Sapphic, Arph 16
 One stanza lost

[Πότνιαι] Νηρήιδες, ἀβλάβη[ν μοι]
 [τὸν καστῖ]γνητον δότε τυίδ' ἵκεσθαι,
 [κῶσσα τῷ] θύμω κε θέλη γένεσθαι
 [πάντα τε]λέσθην,
 5 [όσσα δὲ πρ]όσθ' ἄμβροτε, πάντα λῦσαι,
 [καὶ φίλοι]σι Φοῖσι χάραν γένεσθαι
 [κώδυναν ἔ]χθροισι γένοιτο δ' ἄμμι
 [μήποτα μ]ήδεις

1 Other suggestions are ὁ φίλαι, Κύπρι καὶ Cf Hor, *Od* iii, 1

3 *Ἄ* Edm

8 Sc ἔχθρος, but this is scarcely satisfactory Edmonds reads δύσκλεα = δύσκλεια



THE NEREID ODE FROM A THIRD CENTURY PAPYRUS
(Now in the British Museum)

[τὰν κασὶ] γυνήταν δὲ θέλοι πόνησθαι
 10 [ἔμμορον] τίμας [δν]ίσιν δὲ λύγραν
 [καὶ λόγοις] δτοισι [πάρ]οιθ' ἀχεύων
 [κάμον ἔδει]μα

[κῆρ δνείδιο]μ είσατων τό κ ἐν χρῶ
 [κέρρεν δλλ'] ἐπ ἀγ[λα]φ πολίτων
 15 [ἐκλάθεσθ' ἀ]λλως [στα]νῆ κε δαῦτ οὐ-
 [δεν διὰ μάκρω]

ον αι κ[ε]] σι
 ρην σύ[δε] λύρ [ε]ρε[μ]να
 θεμένα κάκαν

20

η

10 *dps.* Jurenka Blam.

11 λόγοις = λόγοος Edm.

13 Cf. Ovid, *Heroid.* xv 6714 *edpss* Blam.

15 Or δλλ ον Rest of line as Edmonds. The reading throughout the stanza is very doubtful.

17-20 All this is extremely doubtful. λέγε is Blam's suggestion.

Charaxus Sappho's eldest brother had bought and married at Naucratis in Egypt a beautiful slave courtesan named Doricha. Herodotus who calls her Rhodopis Rosycheeks tells us (ii 135) that Sappho scolded him (or her ἐκερτόμησε μν see also Athen xiii 596 B Compare Ovid *Heroid* 63 and 117)

*O sovereign Nereids grant me this I pray
 To bring my brother safe upon his way
 And whatsoe'er his heart hath willed
 be all fulfilled !*

5 For that wherein he faulted make amends
 Grant him to be a joy to all his friends

To foes a bane, but none be thus
a harm to us !

And may he to his sister gladly bring
10 *A share* in honour, but that bitter sting,
The *words* he spoke in angry part
and broke my heart

(Hearing that song of mine that touched him near)
—Yet grant that in the city's welcome here
15 *He may forget all that*, when home
he soon shall come

The succeeding stanza appears to be an appeal to
Cypris to put away his evil shame and be reconciled to
his family at Mitylene, but its meaning is far from
certain

10

Ox Pap 1231, 1, Edm 37
Sapphic, App 16

A poem of three stanzas, of which the first two are
entirely lost except for the ends of the first, the second,
third, fifth, sixth, and seventh lines viz *α μάκαιρα* ·
υπλον *ατος και* *ἄμβροτε κη* *ιε* *νοσαλ* . . .

Two stanzas

Κύπρι, και σε πι[κροτέρ]αν ἔπευρε·
[οἱ] δὲ καυχάσαντο τόδ' ἐννέποντες
[Δω]ρίχα τὸ δεύτερον ὡς πόθε[ννον]
[εἰς] ἔρον ἥλθε

This poem is followed in the MS by 8 (above), without
the *coronis* Lobel would read *ἔπεύροι, μηδὲ καυχάσαιτο*
ἐννέποισα

There is in this poem, apparently, a taunting allusion to

Doricha being transferred from the position of mistress of Xanthes the Samian to that of wedded wife of Charaxus. We may suppose evil minded persons at Naucratis to be speaking —

Cypris and thee *more bitter* did he find
 While they with boasting spake their scornful mind
 A second love how much to be desired
 has Doricha acquired !

1 Le Charaxus.

11

Berl. Klass. Texte 5 P 5006 verso Edm. 35
 Bergk *Adesp* 56 A but he inclines to ascribe the poem
 to Alcaeus

Sapphic App 16

Or. Pap. 424. The position of lines 13 ff was
 identified by Lobel.

Apparently to an unnamed friend who has deserted
 Sappho for persons of greater consequence. Of the first
 stanza only the last word *δωσην* remains

One stanza at least is lost

5 [καὶ κ]λυτῶν μέν τ επ[]
 [καὶ καὶ] λων κασλων [λόγον ουδεν εἴπων]
 [τοις φί]οις λύπης τέ [με σὸν κατίστας]
 [των] μ ὄνειδος
 πρὸς ταδ οἰδήσαις επίτα[δες ἔχθραν]
 10 [καρδ]λων δοαιο τὸ γῆρατ[όημα]
 [τῶ]μον οὐκ ουτω μ[αλάκως πρὸς δργαν]
 [σὸν] διάκυται

5 Edm. but the restoration of the whole poem is doubtful

6 After *λόγον* the MS. has a doubtful ε possibly εποι might
 be read. *καὶ* Edm.

10 *καρδ.* and *δοαιο*, Blaas.

11 Blaas and Bücheler

15

[ἀλλὰ] μὴ δόαζε . . .
 χις συνίημι . . .
 ης κακότατος
 μεν
 ν ἀτέραις με . . .
 φρένας εὐ . . .
 ατοις μακαρ . . .

The verses are so mutilated that we cannot put any confidence in the restoration of them, nor, consequently, in the translation

5 To great ones only *have thy footsteps flown*
 Not to the good and true, *thou giv'st thy own*
No word, and woundest me with shame,
Cast by thee on an honoured name

Swoll'n so big, go on, feed fat thy pride,
 10 Let hatred fill thy heart Yet I abide
Unshaken with a soul too strong
Not to resent thine anger's wrong

For the possible train of thought in the following stanzas, see Edmonds 35

Doubt not bethink thee in thy better soul
And turn to fairer ways, for self-control
And gentleness, not hate or pride,
Can win the Blest Ones to our side

Athenaeus $\tau\gamma$ 674 D *Παράγγελλει τῇ Σαπφῷ στέφα*
κοῦσθαι τοὺς θυοὺς ως εὐαγθέστερον καὶ κεχαρισμένον
μᾶλλον τοῖς θεοῖς

To the four lines of this poem which was probably in couplets already preserved by Athenaeus a papyrus fragment from Oxyrhynchus adds from the two previous couplets *ἀπιθεσθ* towards the end of line 2 *τάχιστα λ* from line 3 and two letters *μπ* in the line following

5 Σὺ δὲ στέφάνοις ὡς Δίκα πέρθεσθ' ἐράταις φίβαισι
σρπακας ανήγα συνέρραισ απάλαιοι χέρσιν

εὐδύθεα [μὴν] γαρ πέλεται καὶ χάριτος Μακάρων
μᾶλλον προτέρην αστεφανωτοῖσι δ απιωτρέφονται

6 Grenfell and Hunt for *συνέρραισ* — Herm. *συνέρραισ* Others
 read *δρήπαια*.

7 *πέλεται* = it befalls *Χαρ προτ* = have precedence in grace.

Athenaeus Sappho enjoins those who offer sacrifice to garland their heads on the ground that what is more adorned with flowers is the more pleasing to the gods.

The Dika who is addressed is supposed to be the same as Mnasidika a pupil of Sappho's

On thy lovely tresses Dika, garlands bind
 Shoots of dill with tender hands together twined
 High stand flower wearers in the Blest Ones grace
 But from heads ungarlanded they turn their face

αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα τοῦ Σωκράτους (e.g. τὸν *"Ιωνα χαίρειν* Plato, *Ion*, 510 A)

πόλλα μὲν τὰν
πωλυανάκτιδα παῖδα χαίρειν

2 Adj. not patronymic as *τὰν* shows Edm

Maximus Tyrius At one time Sappho reproaches Gorgo and Andromeda, at another confutes them and employs against them the very same irony as Socrates (e.g. when he wishes Ion farewell).

To Gorgo or Andromeda
A very good day from me,
O many-king'd child, to thee!

1 I borrow the phrase from Mr Edmonds

14

Bergk, 58, Edm 125
Hendecasyllabic, Aρρ 23

"Ἐχει μὲν Ἀνδρομέδα κάλαν ἀμοίβαν
Andromeda hath now a goodly recompense

15

Bergk, 70, Edm 98
Choriambic (?), *Aρρ* 24
Athen 1, 21 C, Σαπφὼ περὶ Ἀνδρομέδας σκώπτει. Max
Τυτ 24, 9 Κωμῳδεῖ (Σωκράτης) σχῆμά που καὶ κατά-
κλισιν σοφιστοῦ, καὶ αὐτη (Σαπφὼ) See also Eustath,
Od xxii, 770

Τίς δέ σ' ἀγροῖσιν ἐπειμένα σπόλαν
θέλγει τοι ἀγροῖσις [ἔρῳ νόον γύνα],
οὐκ ἐπισταμένα τὰ βράκε' ἔλκην ἐπὶ τῶν σφύρων,

1, 2 The reading and scansion are quite uncertain

Athenaeus Sappho girds at Andromeda. Max Tyrius Socrates makes fun of a certain Sophist's appearance and dress—so Sappho too —

What wench in rustic garments dight
Ensnakes thy soul with new delight
 That knows not how with daintiness
 About her feet to draw her dress?

16

Ox. Pap 1787 34 Bergk 76 5 Edm 115
Ionic App 30

Mnasidika perhaps the same as Dika (see 12) and Gyrinno were Sappho's friends and companions. Max Tyrius comparing Gyrinno (Gyrinna) and Atthis and Anactoria to the friends of Socrates sets Gyrinno first as a parallel to Alcibiades the chief favourite of Socrates

Besides the single line preserved for us by Hephaestion (69) a new papyrus fragment gives us the opening letters of the four previous lines viz. κατ' ἐ μῆδεν νθρ
 δι μὴ βόλλεο

Εὐμορφοτέρα Μνασιδίκα τῆς ἀπόλλας Γυρίννως

Some MSS of Ovid *Heroid* xv 15 have nec mihi Pyrino subeunt Mnasve puella. Choeroboscus (Cornuc Aldi 268 B) has Μνασίδος καὶ Πυρίνων

Though delicately-soft Gyrinno be
 Yet is Mnasidika more fair than she

17

Bergk 48 Edm 53
Dactylic App 34.

μάλα δὴ κεκορημένοις

Γόργως

Of their dear Gorgo now
 They've had their fill I trow

18

Bergk, 33, Edm 48

"*Sapphic*," *App* 34

Hephaestion, 45 The fourteen syllable Sapphic, of which consisted the whole of Sappho's second book

"*Ηράμαν μὲν ἔγω σέθεν, Ἀτθι, πάλαι ποτά,*
(florea virginitas mea cum foret)
σμίκρα μοι πάις ἔμμεν ἐφαίνεο κάχαρις.

1 Cf Ovid, *Heroid*, xv, 18

2 Terent Maurus, 215, 4 See on this Plut *Amat* 5

Long since I loved thee, at what time
I too was in my girlhood's prime:
A little child thou seemedst then,
Atthis, nor marriage-ripe for men.

19*

Bergk, 41, Edm 81

Dactylic Aeolic Tetrameter, *App* 34

"*Ἀτθι, σοὶ δ' ἔμεθεν μὲν ἀπήχθετο*
φροντίσδην, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀνδρομέδαν πότη.

Edm, perhaps rightly, makes this fragment follow 46
I put dots before the first line to show that it is not the beginning of the poem

At this, all thought of me thou now dost hate,
And hoverest ever at Andromeda's gate

20*

Bergk, 71, Edm 73

Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad), *App* 26

"*Ηρων ἔξεδίδαξ*" ἐκ *Γυάρων τὰν ἀννόδρομον*

MS ἔξεδίδαξε γυάρων Gyara or Gyaros, a barren island near Ceos In *Anth Pal* vi, 207, we find αἱ γυάλων *Ναυκράτιδος ναέται*, and Hermann wished to read

Where so much is fragmentary and uncertain it is scarcely possible to get any connected sense out of the words that are preserved of this poem. The name Gongyla (for which see 5 above) is happily legible. If σᾶμ(α) is read correctly in line 7 (but the letters may be read τις ἀμ), we have to do with some sign given, perhaps by Hermes, whose name occurs again in 140a. We can find some slight indication of the drift of the poem in ll. 10-14, where the speaker, perhaps addressing Hermes, swears by the Blessed One (? Aphrodite, cf. 3¹³) that she no longer likes to be uplifted by prosperity, but would gladly die and go.

22a, b

Bergk, 77, Edm 116 Ox Pap 1787 44 = P Halle 2
Ionic or Choriambic, App 30

Hephaestion 69 quotes this line after 16.

(a) Ἀσσαροτέρας οὐδάμα πω, Εἰραννα, σέθεν τύχοισαν

A fragment found at Oxyrhynchus, which begins with the word τύχοισα at the end of a line, has been supposed to give the continuation of this passage, though lines 2-6, as Grenfell and Hunt point out, read like the invocation to a deity

(b)

τύχοισα
 θέλ' ὡν τὰ παίσαν
 [τέ]λεσον νόημα
 ετων κάλημι
 πεδὰ θῦμον αἰψα
 ὅσσα τύχην θελήση[ς]
 [πα]ρ' ἔμοι μάχεσθαι
 χλιδάνα πίθεισα

5

1 Edm reads Εἰρηνα ἐπι τύχοισα Bergk

2 Οτ τ' ἀπαίσαν

3 MS νόημα

ι σὺ δὲ γὰρ οἰσθα
έτει ταὶ μὲν
ελασ

(Σαπ[φοῦς]
με[λῶν] δ')

These last words (Ox Pap 1787 45) may belong here.

⁹ For γέ, Vitelli sees ωδή in his MS

(a) Never Euranna did I see
A bore to be compared with thee

(b) This fragment part of the Oxyrhynchus papyri was evidently abstracted from the rest of the find and conveyed to Germany where it now is. But no connected sense can be extracted out of its mutilated lines. What faint glimpses we get of the meaning recall the Invocation to Aphrodite (*Fragm 3*) If the subscription belonged here and is rightly transcribed this poem came from Sappho's fourth book Hephaestion tells us that (a) was an instance of the Aeolic tetrameter or *Ionic a maiore* with full conclusion consisting of three ionics and a trochaic dipody

23

Bergk 69 Edm 72

Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad) App 26

Οὐδὲ ταὶ δοκίμωμι προσέβοισαν φόος ἀλίω
ἔσσεσθαι σοφίας πάρθενον εἰς οὐδενά πω χρόνον
τοιαύταν

2 ωδή MS. Possibly for ωδή see Lobel, p. xxi and *Fragm. 24*

I deem that of all maids that see the sun
As skilled in song as thou shall never be one

2 ωδή is often used of artistic skill.

24

Bergk, 68, Edm 71

Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad), Aρρ 26

Plutarch, *Praec Coniug*, 48, *Symp* iv, 1, 2; and Stobaeus *Floril*, iv, 12 *Πρός τινα πλουσίαν καὶ ἀπαίδευτον γυναῖκα*

κατθάνοισα δὲ κείσεαι, οὐδ' ἔτι τις μναμοσύνα σέθεν
ἔσσετ' οὐδέποτ' [εἰς] ὕστερον· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχεις βρόδων
τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας, ἀλλ' ἀφάνης κήνη Ἄΐδα δόμοις
φοιτάσεις πεδ' ἀμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα

3 δόμω Fick see Lobel, p 1111

Plutarch · Sappho to a rich uneducated woman —

Dying, thou shalt die for ever,
None shall e'er remember thee,
For in life thou pluckest never
Roses from Pieria's tree

But within dark Hades' portals
Thou shalt surely be unknown,
Flitting with the Shades of mortals
As inglorious as thine own

Gerstenhauer takes ἐκπεποτ to mean "bereft of life" or "sense", which is perhaps more accurate Cf Theocr 11, 19, xi, 7

25

Bergk, 10^a, Edm 11

Prose paraphrase

Aristides, 11, 508 *Σαπφὼ πρός τινας τῶν εὐδαιμόνων εἶναι δοκουσῶν γυναικῶν μεγαλαυχούμενη καὶ λέγουσα,*

ώς αὐτὴν αἱ Μοῦσαι τῷ ὄντι ὀλβίαν τε καὶ
ζηλωτὴν ἐποίησαν, καὶ ὡς οὐδ' ἀποθανούσης
ἔσται λήθη

Cf Plut *Praec Consig* 48 ή Σαπφω διὰ τὴν δὲ τοις μέλεσι καλλιγραφίαις ἐφρόνει τηλικούτοις ωστε γράψαι

Aristides Sappho to certain women reputed well to-do said boastingly —

To me the Muses truly gave
An envied and a happy lot
Even when I lie within the grave
I cannot shall not be forgot

26

Bergk, 29 Edm 120

Alcaic? *Aph* 21

Athenaeus xiii 564 Πρὸς τὸν υπερβαλλόντας θαυμα ζομένον τὴν μορφὴν καὶ καλὸν εἶναι τομιζόμενον

Στᾶθ' [ἐμφάνης μοι] κάντα φίλος [φίλου]
καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ δύσσοις διμπέτασσον χάριν

Athenaeus To a man excessively admired for his appearance and reckoned to be a beauty

Stand *fair before me* friend and face to face
And in thine eyes unveil the hidden grace.

27

(1) Bergk Alcaeus 55

Sapphic with anacrusis *Aph* 20

(2) Bergk 28 Edm 119

Alcaic *Aph* 20

Alcaeus to Sappho The first line is from Hephaestion 80 and the second from Aristotle *Rhet* 1 9 The metre is Sapphic with anacrusis —

(1) Ιόπλοκ αγνα μελλιχόμειδε Σάπφοι
θέλω τέλπην δλλάδ με κωλωει αιδως

Sappho's answer —

Αὶ δ' ἥχες ἔσλων ἵμερον ἢ κάλων,
καὶ μήτι τ' εἴπην γλῶσσ' ἐκύκα κάκον,
αἴδως κέ σ' οὐ [κάτ]ηχεν ὅππατ',
ἀλλ' ἔλεγες περὶ τῶ δικαιῶς

2 Anna Comnena, *Alex.*, xv, 486, attributes this last half line to Sappho. Stephanus (Cramer *Anecd* Paris, 1, 266) says the *dialogue* is by Sappho.

3 Melhorn for MS. εἰχεν

Headlam (JHS, vol. xxii, 1902) says: "If a woman desired while uttering a reproof in words to acknowledge and refuse a compliment, would she use her own metre or his?"

Alcaeus to Sappho —

Pure gently-smiling Sappho, violet-crowned,
Fain would I speak, but shame my lips hath bound

Sappho to Alcaeus —

If noble words and fair had been thy will,
Nor had thy tongue therewith been mingling ill,
Shame had not veiled thy faltering eyes,
And thou hadst spok'n in honest wise

1 Or violet-weaving

28

Bergk, 75, Edm 99

Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad), Afp 26

Ἄλλ' ἔων φίλος ἄμμιν λέχος ἀρνῦσσο νεώτερον,
οὐ γὰρ τλάσομ' ἔγω συνθοῖκην ἔσσα γεραιτέρα

1 For ἀρνύσσο, or read ἀρνυσσο Bergk, ἄλλο before λέχος and νέω γ' before ἔσσα (one MS νέ ούσα), which seems required

2 Cf συνθοίκην but reading and metre are quite uncertain

This is supposed by some to refer to Alcaeus, but he was older than Sappho, see p 187



ALCAEUS AND SAPPHO
(F on the Crater at Munich)

If love for us be in thy heart some younger woman wed
For tis no aged woman's part to share a young man's bed

Cf Shak. *Twelfth Night* ii 4 30

29*

Bergk 35 Edm 51

Logaoedic App 34.

Ἄλλας μοι μεγαλύτερο δακτυλίω πέρι.

Hoffmann *Ἄλλ* *αρ* Possibly *αλλαν* = elsewhere
cf *κατέταχ* 80₂. Edm δλλ ὅν (= ἀνδ) μῆ

To other ears I pray pride in thy ring display

30*

Bergk 110 Edm 93

Logaoedic App 34

Ἄλλα μὴ κάμε τι στερ[ε]ω φρένα.

MS ἀλλαν Lunāk reads αλλὰ μὰν κάμπτε (cf also
Edm)

Fond girl faint not nor yield
Let thy firm heart be steeled

31

Ox Pap 1231 10 Edm. 42

Sapphic App 16

λ ἐπαθολ ἡσ
ν δόλοφυν ει
τρομέροις πρ λα

5

χρόα γῆρας ἥδη
ν ἀμφιβόσκει
τ πέταται διωκαν

1 Willm. χαλέψα βόλχο

2 Hesych. δόλφος δόλφος Lobel divides νδ δόλφον

3 Sc. μέλαινας οτ γελεύς

5 Cf Ox. Pap. 1787 2₁₂. After ηδη MS. has ε or η in margin.

10

τᾶς ἀγαύας
μα· λάβοισα
δεισον ἄμμι

τὰν ἴόκολπον

ρων μάλιστα
ας π[λ]άναται

15

11 See Bergk, *Alc* 63

12 i.e. Aphrodite

The poem is too mutilated for us even to guess its drift. If, however, 11 11 and 12 are correctly transferred from Alcaeus (*Fragm* 63 Bergk), Aphrodite would again be the theme, and perhaps old age alluded to as the enemy of love.

32

Ox Pap 1231, 13, Edm 43

Sapphic, App 16

	ἀνάγ	.	.
	ἐμνάσεσθ' ἄ[σσα]	.	.
5	· . ἄμμες ἐν νεό[τατι]	.	.
	ἐπόημμεν	.	.
5	μεν γὰρ καὶ κά[λα]	.	.
	μεν πολι	.	.
	[χ]ο[ρ]είαις δ'	.	.

2 Wilam

3 Cf 7₁₁

5 [πόλλα]μεν Wilam

6 [εῖχο]μεν or [πάσχο]μεν Diehl

The little that is left to us of this poem enables us only to gather that it was probably addressed to one of Sappho's girl friends, and it recalls pieces 6 and 7 above.

33*

Bergk 14 Edm. 14
Sapphic App 16

ταῖς καλαῖσ νημαῖ τὸ νόημα τῶμοι
οὐ διάμειπτοι

Fair comrades mine to you
My thought is ever true

34

Bergk 11 Edm. 12
Sapphic App 16

ταῖς νῦν ἔταιραις
ταῖς εμαισι τέρπνα καλῶς αεισῶ

With these songs shall my voice
My comrades hearts rejoice.

35*

Bergk 21 Edm. 124
Logaoedic? App 24

εμεθεν δ ἔχεισθα λάθαν
and of me you are wholly forgetful

36

Bergk 22 Edm. 22
Sapphic App 16

η τίν αλλον
[μᾶλλον] διθρωπων εμεθεν φίλησθα.

¹ The ♀ is perhaps due to Apollonius, who quotes the line

Or what man can there be
Thou lovest more than me?

Ox Pap 1231, 16, Bergk, 12, Edm 13, Etym M
449, 34

Sapphic, App 16

(a) $\theta\alpha\mu\epsilon\omega[\nu]$.

ōttuvas yàp

εῦ θέω, κῆνοι με μάλιστα πάν[τωι]

[ε̄τα] σίνονται

5 ἀλεμάτ[ων] .

γόνω με .

μ' οὐ πρ

at

σέ Θέλω

[τοῦ]το πάθη[ν]

Bergk, 15, from Apoll., *Pronom.* 324 B, Edm. 15

(b) λαν· ἔγω δ' ἡμ' αὗτα

τοῦτο σύνοιδα

[*α*]στοισ[*ι*]

eval

15 ε ..

3 Catull 73, 5

11 So Papyr and Apoll, whose MS reads ἔγωι

Whether lines 3-5 (Bergk, 12) are rightly placed here is not certain. But we cannot think of Sappho in this poem as exemplifying the words of Horace (*Odes*, II, 13, 24), *Aeolis fidibus querentem . . . puellis de popularibus*, for these words seem to mean "singing elegies over the girls of her people"



THE HEAD IN THE UFFIZI GALLERY AT FLORENCE
(From a photograph sent me by the Director)

4 They make me most of all to grieve
Who kindness at my hands receive

11 And in myself I know this well

38

Ox. Pap 1787 6

Ionic? App 32

σε Μίκα

ελα [άλ]λα σ εγωνκ ἔδσω

ν φιλό[τατ] ηλεο Πειθιλήαν

δα κα[κό]τροπ αμμα[ε]

5 μέλος τι γλυκερον

α μελλιχόδφωτ[ος]

[αε]δει λίγυραι δ αη[δοι]

δροσδέσσα

3 Adj sc. παθετ Cf Edm., Alc. 75

4 MS. κα τροπε

6 Cf. 160

Here only in all that remains to us of Sappho do we find any reference to the political parties or affairs of Mitylene which loom so large in the poetry of Alcaeus. The daughters of Penthilus here alluded to belonged to the Lesbian clan to which Pittacus the dictator was allied by his marriage with the sister of Dracon son of Penthilus.

Mica if we take the word as a proper name is not likely say Drs. Grenfell and Hunt to be the person to whom the poem is addressed for the accent in that case would more probably be a circumflex. They suggest that the meaning of the sentence may be Mica wishes to bring you here but I will not receive you. The unintelligible reference to singers and sweet voiced nightingales at the end is tantalizing.

Ox Pap 1787, 7 Lobel, p 32

Ionic? *App* 32

[κα]ὶ γάρ μ' ἀπὺ τᾶς .

[ῦ]μως δ' ἐγεν

ἴσαν θέοισιν

ασαν ἀλίτρα

5

[Ἄν]δρομέδαν .

τα . κα . . .

τρόπον ἀ κύνη

ορον οὐ κάτισ[χεν]

Τυνδαρίδαι[ς]

10 ασυ κα[ι] χαρίειτ' ἀ . .

. κ' ἄδολον [μ]ῆκετι συν .

μεγαρα β να α .

3 Cf 6₂, 141₁₈, 141₂₁6 The letters between *τα* and *κα* are *μα* or *σα*12 *μεγ* read in the MS by Lobel

Though this poem was very probably addressed to one of Sappho's circle, it is not likely that Andromeda is her rival, of whom we have heard before (14, 59). She is more likely to be the legendary heroine (see also Ovid, *Heroid* xv, 36). The mention of the Tyndarids points in the same direction, if these fragments go together

Ox Pap 1231, 14, Edm 44

Sapphic, App 16

Of the preceding stanza of this Sapphic Ode we have only three or four letters at the end of the third line *ἔρ[ωτος] ἥδη*

5 . [ώς γὰρ . ἄν]τιον εἰσίδω σε

. . 'Ερμιόια τοαύ[τα]

4 Possibly ἥλπ or ἥλγ

6 Or τεαύτα

[οὐδαμα] ξένθα δ Ελίνη σ ἔτο[κ]ην
[οὐδεν αει]κες

10 [αλ θέ]μις θνάταις τόδε δ ισ[θι] τῷ σῷ
παῖσσαν κέ με τὰν μερίκηναν
λαῖς δυτιδ αθοῖς δὲ

[τῇ]ην σε
ιτας οχθοις
ταῖς

15

[παν]ρυχίσ[δην]

8 Herod. III 24

9 μ may be ε or λ. The digamma of λοθ is disregarded. This occurs also in other words.

13 From Scholiast; see Edm. *ad loc.* Grenf. and Hunt read
τ εστι

This might well be part of an epithalamium

5-9 For when I look upon thee face to face
Hermione seems not for all her grace
As fair as thou nor far amiss twould be
In this my song O Friend to liken thee
If mortals to the gods we may compare
To royal Helen of the golden hair

Cf Ovid *Ars Amat* ii 644.

41

Οτ Pap 1787 i Bergk 79 Edm 118
Ιονικ Αρρ 30

Athenaeus xv 687 A Υμεις δὲ οιεσθε τὴν ἀβρότητα
χωρὶς αρετῆς ἔχειν τι τρυφερόν Σαπφω γυνὴ μὲν πρὸς
δλῆθειαν οὖσα καλ ποιήτρια ὅμως ἥδεσθη τὸ καλὸν τῆς
ἀβρότητος ἀφελεις λέγουσα ὡδε (viz the two complete

lines 24, 25 given below) φανερὸν ποιοῦσα πᾶσιν ὡς ἡ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμία τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν εἶχεν αὐτῇ ταῦτα δέ ἔστιν οἰκεῖα τῆς ἀρετῆς

λεσσα

ιδ' ἀ

πέρι

εικε

να

5

[θ]ιγοίσα
ιδ' ἀχθην

χν θίοι ἀλλ

[α]ῦταν

ἀ τιλ

εισα

. ἔνα τὰν

αν ὑμον σ'

νι θῆται στύμα[σι] πρόκοψιν

10

πων κάλα δῶρα παῖδες

[ῳ]φίλ', ἄοιδον λιγύραν χελύνναν

[πά]ντα χρόα γῆρας ἥδη

[λεῦκαι δ' ἐγένο]ντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίναν

αι γόνα δ' οὐ φέροισι

15

ἥσθ' ἵσα νεβρίοισιν

ἀλλὰ τί κεν ποείην,

οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι

βροδόπαχν Αὔων

κατὰ γᾶς φέροισα

ον ὕμως ἔμαρψεν

άταν ἄκοιτιν

φθιμέναν νομίσδει

αις ὀπάσδοι

20

1 The three words on the left margin are given by Dr Grenfell and Dr Hunt as Frag 2 (a) The rest as Flegg 1 and 2

8 The first *a* is marked long in the manuscript

12 Cf Ox Pap 1231, 10b

13 Editors of Ox Pap

14 Cf Alcman, 26

17 Cf Ox Pap 1231, 1, 1, 33

18 Cf 51, for another beautiful epithet for dawn see also πότνια αὔως, Bergk, 153

21 Hor, Od 11, 14, 21

25 έγω δὲ φίλημ ἀβροσίναν [ἴσθι γε] τοῦτο καὶ μοι
 τὸ λάμπρον ἔρως αἰλίω καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλουχε
 ἐπιν
 φίλει
 καὶ ν

Edm. reads *τερπτον* for *τρυφερόν* in Athenaeus

24 MS. φίλημα.

25 MS. *ἴπετ* which is the usual Aeolic form but see 40, where Wilm. conjectures *ἴπετε* and cf. Ox. Pap. 1787 11.

Athenaeus Do you think that delicate living without virtue brings any comfort? Why Sappho who was a woman if ever there was one and a poetess nevertheless shrank from divorcing delicacy of life from honour for she makes it clear to all that for her the joy of life contained in itself that which was splendid and that which was honourable and these are concomitants of virtue.

Though Athenaeus has no doubt as to Sappho's meaning and says that she has made it clear to all yet some editors consider that Athenaeus is entirely mistaken in a matter which was within his competence and that Sappho was thinking of physical brightness and beauty

From what is left to us of the three and twenty preceding lines of this piece we can form some idea of Sappho's meaning in it. She appears to be speaking of the charms of music as alleviating the sadness which the approach of old age brings with it when the bright hues of youth give place to the wanness of old age black hair turns to white and joints once as supple and as nimble as a fawn can no longer join in the dance.

But what can the victim do? Age must follow youth as darkness in its turn follows dawn. The time cannot but come for all when earth and its joys must be left behind.

Then Sappho goes on somewhat defiantly to say in the words which Athenaeus quotes with approval, pointing the moral to those who are dining with him —

Know this !

All delicate things do I love, and joy in the sunlight above

Hath ever with me had a share, in all that is noble and fair

42

Bergk, 17; Edm 17, 18

Sapphic, App 16

κατ' ἔμον στέλαγμον
τὸν δ' ἐπιπλάξοντ' ἄνεμοι φέροιεν
καὶ μελεδώναις

1 Hor, *Od* 1, 26, 1, tristitiam et metus Tradam protervis portare
ventis Lines 1, and 2, 3 are separate quotations joined by Hoffmann

. in the drip, drip, of pain,
Which, when it comes, and all my care
Far from my breast may swift winds bear !

43

Bergk, 36, Edm 52.

“*Sapphic*” of 14 Syllables, App 34

οὐκ οἶδ' ὅππι θέω δύο μοι τὰ νοήματα

For phrase cf Aristaenetus, 1, 6 δίχα μοι γέγονε τὰ νοήματα

I know not what to do were best,
Two thoughts contend within my breast

44

Bergk, 72, Edm 74

Choriambic (*Lesser Asclepiad*), App 28

αλλά τις οὐκ εμμι παλιγκότων
οργαν δὲλ ἀβάκην τὰν φρέν ἔχω

1 Edm. denies the possibility of such a genit. of quality at this date, and he reads *παλιγκότων* with Ursinus.

No rancour in my bosom sways
Gentle and childlike are my ways

45

Edmonds 89 Wilam. *Sappho* II *Simonides* 51
Diehl. 18

Julian (*Epist ad Iamblichum* 60) Ὁλθες καὶ
ἐποίησας ὥλθες γάρ δὴ καὶ απαν οἰς γράφεις ἔγω δέ σ
ἔμαδμαν αν δ ἔφελαξας ἐμαν φρένα καιομέναν πόθῳ
χαῖρε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμιν πολλά κάθαπερ ή καλὴ Σαπφω
φησιν καὶ οὐκ ἰσάριθμα μόνον τῷ χρόνῳ δν αλλήλων
απελειφθημεν δὲλλα γαρ καὶ αει χαῖρε

Sapphic of 14 Syllables Αρρ 34

Ὁλθες εῦ δ ἐπόησας εγω δέ σ ἔμαδμαν
δν δ ἔφελαξας εμαν φρένα καιομέναν πόθῳ
χαῖρε δ ἄμμι [σύ] πόλλα ἰσαριθμά τε τῷ χρόνῳ
[δυσσον αλλάλων απελειφθημεν]

MS μὰ ωμαν

1 Οτ *ἴμαδμαν*

2 Edm. = *ἴφελαξας* or *ἴφελαξ* ; for *ἴφελαξας* Thomas *ἴφελαξ*

Julian Thou art come thou hast done well for thou
hast come even though thou art far away in thy letter
I was longing for thee thou hast kept my heart burning
with love To thyself also many a welcome from us
as the beautiful Sappho says and not so many only as the
days we have been parted but indeed a countless welcome

Thou art come it is well for of thee I am fain
Thou hast lighted love's fire in my bosom amain.
All hail and all hail to thee heart of my heart
Aye a hail for each year that fate kept us apart.

Then Sappho goes on somewhat defiantly to say in the words which Athenaeus quotes with approval, pointing the moral to those who are dining with him —

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χαιρε δὲ καὶ αυτὸς ἡμιν πολλά κάθαπτερ ή καλὴ Σαπφω
φησιν καὶ οὐκ ἵστριθμα μόνον τῷ χρόνῳ οὐ διλήλων
ἀπελείφθημεν αλλὰ γαρ καὶ αἰ χαῖρε

Sapphic of 14 Syllables App 34

Ἡλθες εὖ δέ πόθησας ἔγω δέ σ ιμαδίμαν
ον δέ φυλαξας εμαν φρένα καιομέναν πόθῳ
χαιρε δέ ἔμμι [ον] πόδλλ ἵστριθμά τε τῷ χρόνῳ
[δουσον διλάλων ἀπελείφθημεν]

MS μὰ ωμαν

1 Οτ ιμαδίμαν

2 Edm. — ιφλεξας or ιφλεξας for ιφλεξας Thomas Ιφλεξας

Julian Thou art come thou hast done well for thou
hast come even though thou art far away in thy letter
I was longing for thee thou hast kept my heart burning
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as the beautiful Sappho says and not so many only as the
days we have been parted but indeed a countless welcome

Thou art come it is well for of thee I am fain
Thou hast lighted love's fire in my bosom amain
All hail and all hail to thee heart of my heart
Aye a hail for each year that fate kept us apart

46*

Bergk, 40, Edm 81

Aeolic Tetrameter, Aρρ 34

"Ἐρος δαῦτέ μ' ὁ λυσιμέλης δόνει
γλυκύπικρον ἀμάχανον ὅρπετον

1 Hesiod, *Theog* 911, Alcm 36, Bergk, *Carm Popul* 44 For λυσιμ see Archil 85 Cf Hor, *Od* iv, 1, 2, *rursus* for δαῦτε, and for δόνει Moschus, 5, 5, and for γλυκυπ Theog 1353, Catull 68, 18 See also Aristoph, *Eccl.* 954, where he perhaps imitates an epithalamium of Sappho's

Love's palsy yet again my limbs doth wring,
That bitter-sweet resistless creeping thing

2 "Love creeps where it cannot go" Shak, *Two Gent*, iv, 2, 20

47

Bergk, 42, Edm 54

"Sapphic" of 14 Syllables, *Aρρ 34*

"Ἐρος δ' ἐτίναξ' ἔμαις
φρένας ὡς ἄνεμος κὰτ ὅρος δρύσιν ἐμπέσων

2 Nauck *κατάρης*, as Eustath says Sappho used it with ἄνεμος Hoffmann ἐμπέτων

Love again hath fluttered my heart, as a squall
That down from the hill on the oaks doth fall

As Max Tyr in quoting this compares it to the love of Socrates for Phaedrus, Sappho may be thinking of Anactoria, whom Max Tyr makes parallel to Phaedrus, 24 (18)

48

Bergk, 126, Edm 29

Sapphic, Aρρ 16

Julian, *Ἐρ 18 ἵνα σε,*

τὸ μέλημα τῷμον,
ώς φησιν ἡ Σαπφώ, περιπτύξωμαι

Cf Ovid *Heroid* xv 123 Tu mihi cura.
 Julian As Sappho says

O but my arms to twine
 About thee darling mine!

The quotation from Sappho may be limited to $\omega\mu\delta\eta\mu\alpha$
 $\tau\omega\mu\sigma\sigma$ For thought cf Tennyson *Maud* vi 4.

49*

Bergk 55 Edm. 96 Possibly by Alcaeus
Trochaic? App. 35

Αβρα \dagger δεῦτε παγχῆς πάλαι \ddagger ἀλλόμαν

No satisfactory emendation has been proposed
 O dainty maid of old *into thine arms* I sprang

50

Bergk 130 Edm. 84a
Sapphic App. 16

Libanius *Or* i 402 (ed Reiske) Σαπφω τὴν Λεσβίαν
 οὐδὲν ἐκωλύσεν εὐξασθαι

νύκτα διπλασίαν γένεσθαι

For $\alpha\tau\tau\eta$ which Lib. inserts after $\nu\kappa\tau\alpha$ we might read
 δ αιτῶ

Libanius Nothing prevented the Lesbian Sappho
 from praying that the night should be for her a double
 night Libanius refers to the story of Zeus and
 Alcmena, when Heracles was conceived Possibly
 though $\alpha\tau\tau\eta$ is against this the words may come from
 an epithalamium

51

Bergk, 18 Edm. 19
Sapphic App. 16

Αρτίως μ δ χρυσοπέδιλλος αῦως
 But now the golden sandal'd Dawn

Loeb edition Though I have not felt at liberty to make use of his conjectural restoration, there can be no harm in reproducing in a translation the general sense of what he thinks may have been in the poem

*O Sappho, if thou comest not,
Then shall my love be all forgot
Oh, shine on us, and from thy bed
Set free thy dear-loved lustihead ;
And like marsh lilies by the tide,
Thy Chian peplus laid aside,
Bathe in the stream, and Kleis down
From thy rich stores a saffron gown
Shall bring, thy robe of royal red
And cloak and garlands for thy head .*

56

Bergk, 10, Edm 10

Sapphic, App 16

*Αἱ με τιμίαν ἔποησαν ἔργα
τὰ σφὰ δοῖσαι*

Giving me their gifts of pride,
My name the Muses glorified

57*

Bergk, *Adesp*, p 53, from Plut, *Garr* 5, as an instance of charm like that of Lysias

Choriambic (with basis), App 26

*ἴγω φαῦμι Φιοπλόκων
Μοίσαν εὖ λάχεμεν*

1 For *ἰοπλοκάμων* Bergk This fragm is possibly by Alcaeus

Fair is the portion that I claim as mine
With you, O violet-weaving Muses nine



THE SAPPHO OF THE TERME MUSEUM IN ROME
(From photograph by Bernard Ashmole)

Bergk 37 Edm 53

Sapphic of 14 Syllables App 34.

φαύην δ οὐ δοκίμωμ δράνω δνοι πάχεσι

MS δνοπαχέα see Bergk. The reading is quite uncertain. Cf Herodas iv 75 θεῶν φαύειν Ps. Callisth ii, 20 ὁσπότε κάγω λαόθεον εχων κράτος χεροιν ἐμαις οὐρανοι ήθέλησα φαύοις 2 Maccabees ix 10 Touch the stars of heaven Hor Od I *ad fin*

Two cubits short am I I ween to touch the sky

Or it may be translated (taking the alternative meaning)

How could I ever dream that I
With my two hands should touch the sky ?

Bergk 32 Edm 76

Sapphic of 14 Syllables App 34

Μάστοβατ τινα φαῖμι καὶ ὕστερον ἀμμέων

ὕστερον for MS ἔτερον Volger This boast became a commonplace from Pindar to Ovid and Horace and Shakespeare Sonnets 55 Edmonds thinks this may have been the last poem in Sappho's own edition of her works cf Horace's *Exegi monumentum* at end of his third book.

Mark me ! The after days shall see
Those that will still remember me.

After quoting the last given line from Sappho Dio Chrysostom (*Orat* 37 *ad fin*) goes on with the following

words, which, as the form *λάθα* seems to show, may be a paraphrase of more that Sappho wrote

Λάθα μὲν ἥδη τινὰς καὶ ἐτέρους ἔσφηλε καὶ ἐψεύσατο,
γνώμη δ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐδένα

Metre unknown, but see Edm 77

Some, by forgetfulness undone,
 Have of their hopes been quite bereft,
 But this was never true of one
 To good men's judgment who was left

60*

Bergk, 32¹, Stobaeus, *Floril* 26

“*Sapphic*” of 14 Syllables, Aρρ 34

Λάθα Πιέρισι στυγέρα καὶ ἀνάρσιος

MS *Πιερίδων* and *ἀνάρατος*

Forgotten ! 'tis an odious word,
 And never by the Muses heard !

61

Bergk, 136, Edm 108

Choriambic (Lesser Asclepiad), Aρρ 28

Maximus Tyrius, 24, 9 *Ἄνθάπτεται Σωκράτης τῇ*
Ξανθίππῃ ὀδυρομένῃ ὅτε ἀπέθνησκεν, ἡ δὲ Σαπφὼ τῇ
θυγατρὶ

[*Ἄλλ']οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἐν μοισοπόλω οἰκίᾳ*
θρῆνον ἔμμεναι οὐκ ἄμμι πρέπει τάδε.

1 Neue for MS *μουσοπόλων*

2 Dubner *πρέποι*, and Lobel *τάδε πρέποι*

Maximus Tyrius Socrates takes Xanthippe up for lamenting that he was dying , and so Sappho to her daughter (Kleis)

Never where lovers of the Muses dwell
Should dirges sound for us that were not well

62

Ox. Pap xi 1356

A fragment of Philo (born about 20 B.C.) speaking of Philosophy

[Σαπ]φοῦς εὐβουλία φησὶ γάρ
θέοις δεινοῖς τικαδακ θεοῖς ηλα
εὐβουλία i.e. περὶ θεῶν τικαδα—possibly τικαλα

If this mutilated passage is rightly referred to Sappho (for which see Pauly Wissowa, article *Sappho* 1920 ed.) we would gladly have known how her views about the gods showed her good sense and we may compare Fragm. 64.

63

Bergk 101 Edm. 58

Logaoedic? Aρρ 34.

Galen *Protrepti* 8 Αμεινον οὖν έστιν ἔγγωκότας τὴν μὲν τῶν μειρακίων ὥρας τοις ἡρόνοις ανθεστιν δουκυιαν δλιγοχρόνιον τε τὴν τέρψιν ἔχουσαν ἐπανεῖν καὶ τὴν Λεσβίαν λέγουσαν
δ μὲν γάρ κάλος δουσον ἴδην πέλεται [κάλος]
ο δὲ καγαθος αὔτικα καὶ κάλος ἔσσεται

Galen adds that Solon says much the same as Sappho

1 Some think this may be part of a bridal song

Galen It is therefore better knowing as we do that the blooming time of the young is like the spring flowers and its enjoyment as transitory to applaud the Lesbian too when she says —

He that is fair fair only is to see

He that is good fair too shall straightway be

Weir Smyth aptly quotes Ben Jonson's " How near to good is what is fair ! "

64

Bergk, 137, Edm 91

Choriambic (Lesser Asclepiad) ? *Ἄρρ* 28

Aristotle, *Rheticic*, 11, 33 "Ωσπερ Σαπφώ "Οτι τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν κακόν οἱ θεοὶ γὰρ οὕτω κεκρίκασιν ἀπέθνησκον γὰρ ἄν, εἴπερ ἦν καλὸν τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν

Τὸ θναίσκην κάκον οὕτω κεκρίκασι θέοι
ἔθναισκόν κε γάρ, αἴπερ κάλον ἦν τόδε

I follow Hartung except *κε* for *ἄν*, but it is all very doubtful For *θέοι*, cf 140a₂

Aristotle. As Sappho says Death is an evil, for so the gods have decided, for they would have died, had death been good

Death is an ill, 'tis thus the Gods decide
For had death been a boon, the Gods had died

65

Bergk, 27, Edm 137

Dactylic tetrameter, or Adonius, *Ἄρρ* 17

Plutarch, *Coh 11a*, 7 'Ἐν ὀργῇ δὲ σεμνότερον οὐδὲν ἡσυχίας, ὡς ἡ Σαπφὼ παραινεῖ

Σκιδναμένας ἐν στήθεσιν ὅργας
μαψυλάκαν γλῶσσαν πεφύλαχθαι

2 Inf for imper or read πεφύλαξο

Plutarch In anger there is nothing more dignified than silence, as Sappho warns us —

With anger when the breast is wrung,
Curb thou the idly-barking tongue

Bergk 80 Edm 100

Choriambic App 26

The Scholiast on Pindar *Ol* 11 96 where the poet is speaking of the advantages of wealth set off with virtues points out that the one without the other is not nearly so desirable and quotes the following lines. Plutarch also *De Nobilitate* § 5 shows the dependence of *εὐγένεια* upon *αρετή* and quotes (in the Latin translation) —

Opes citra virtutis eximium decus | Domum male incolunt
sin his immisceas | Felicitas hinc summa belle nascitur

*O γάρ πλοῦτος αρεν τᾶς αρέτας οὐκ ασίνης παροικος
α δὲ αμφοτέρων κράσις εχει ταχρον [del βρότοισιν]
[τᾶς] ευδαιμονίας*

Of the *De Nobil* we have only a Latin translation subsequently itself turned into Greek. Cf also Plut *Liber Educ* 5 *Εὐγένεια καλὸν μέν αλλὰ προγόνων αγαθόν πλοῦτος δὲ τίμον μέν αλλὰ τύχης κτῆμα.* Also Callim *Hymn to Zeus* 95

The wealth that has no share in worth
Is no safe inmate of our hearth
But when the two are blent in one
The height of happiness is won

From Plutarch in the Latin version —

An evil partner of our home
Is wealth divorced from virtue's grace
But if they thither blended come
True happiness shall there have place

Bergk 141 142 Edm 110

Pausanias viii 18 5 *Καθαρευειν τὸν χρυσὸν υπὸ τοῦ
ιοῦ ἡ ποιητρία μάρτυς ἔστιν ἡ Λεσβία*

Scholiast, Pindar, *Pyth* 1v, 407 δ δὲ χρυσὸς ἄφθαρτος
 καὶ ἡ Σαπφώ [] ὅτι 'Διὸς παῖς δὲ χρυσός, κεῖνον οὐ
 σῆς οὐδὲ κὶς δάπτει'

The words quoted are probably Pindar's (*Frag* 207) and Sappho's words have dropped out

Pausanias The Lesbian poetess is witness that gold is untarnished by rust

Scholiast to Pindar Gold is indestructible, as Sappho also sings [], for "gold is a child of Zeus, no moth nor worm can eat it away".

For ever gold doth gold remain,
 No rust or mould its sheen can stain

68

Bergk, 114, Edm 78

? *Choriambic*?

Mὴ κίνη χέραδας

MS μὴ κενὴ χέραδος We might read *χέραδος neut*

Stir not the shingle on the shore

69

Bergk, 113, Edm 106

? *Choriambic, App* 34

Diogenianus, *Prov* 1, 279 Ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ βονλομένων
 παθεῖν τι φαῦλον μετὰ ἀμαθῶν

Μήτ' ἔμοι μέλι μήτε μελίσσαις

μελίσσαις acc plur

Diogenianus On those who will not have "a rose for its thorns"

No honey for me, if it comes with a bee



THE OXFORD BUST IN THE ASHMOLEAN
(Front view)

70

Bergk 148 Edm. 92

Logaoedic?

Eustathius *Orisc* 345 52 Οὐ πόρνη κατά τὴν
Ιεριχουντίαν ἐκείνην φίλα τις δηλαδὴ πολυρίμβαστος
καὶ

καλον δόκεισα (εἴποι αν ἡ Σαπφώ) δαμόσιον ἀλλὰ καὶ
καθαρά

Edmonds thinks that *πολυρ* may be part of the
quotation and this is quite possible

Eustathius Not a harlot like the famous one of
Jericho a friendship that is of a roving kind

A boon it seems that all may share

(as Sappho would say) but even a pure one.

Cf Shak *Sonnets* 137 6 A bay where all men ride.

71*

Bergk 52 Edm. 111

Logaoedic or possibly Ionic App. 19 and 31

Δέδυκε μὲν α σελάννα
καὶ Πληγάδες μέσαι δὲ
νύκτες παρὰ δ ἔρχεται ωρα
εγω δὲ μόνα κατεύδω

Possibly based upon a folk-song Cf. 53

71

The Moon and Pleiades have set,
Midnight is nigh

The time is passing passing yet
Alone I lie

Bergk, 4, Edm 4

Sapphics, App 16

Hermogenes, *Rhet Graec*, III, 315, ed Walz *Tὰς μὲν οὐκ αἰσχρὰς (τῶν ἡδονῶν) ἔστιν ἀπλῶς ἐκφράζειν, οἷον κάλλος χωρίου καὶ φυτείας διαφορὰν καὶ ῥευμάτων ποικιλίαν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τῇ ὅψει προσβάλλει ἡδονὴν ὀρώμενα καὶ τῇ ἀκόῃ ὅτε ἐξαγγέλλει τις ὁσπερ ἡ Σαπφώ καὶ ὅσα πρὸ τούτων γε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἴρηται*

ἀμφὶ δ' ὕδωρ

[ἥρεμα] ψῦχρον κελάδει δι' ὕσδων
μαλίνων, αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων
κῶμα κατάρρει

Cf Hor, *Epop 11, 17*, Frondesque (MS fontes) lymphis
obstrepunt manantibus, somnos quod invitet leves See
also Lucian, *Philos* Edm, excellently, *ψῦχρον ὕνεμος*

Hermogenes on Sweetness of Style All pleasures
that are not disgraceful can be spoken of simply, such as
the natural beauty of a place, the variety of trees, the
attractive diversity of streams, and all such things For
they afford pleasure to the sight when seen, and to the
ear, when one describes them, as Sappho in the following
words . and in what precedes and follows —

And all around

Mid apple boughs cool waters sound,
And from the rustling leaves o'erhead
Deep sleep is shed

Possibly a garden of the Nymphs is meant, see 161

Bergk, *Adesp 104^a*, Edm 133

Ionic (irregular), App 31

Demetrius *Eloc* 164 Τὸ μὲν γαρ εὐχαρι μετα κόσμου
ἐκφέρεται καὶ δι δομάτων καλῶν α μάλιστα ποιει τὸς
χάριτας οἰον τόν

ποικίλλεται μὲν γαῖα πολυστέφανος

Demetrius Charm is brought out in association with
ornament and by means of beautiful words which con-
duce most of all to such graces of style for instance —

The Earth in many a garland fair
Its varied livery now doth wear

74

Bergk 30 Edm. 139

Hexameters? with basis *App* 33

χρύσειοι δ ἐρέβινθοι ἐπ αἰόνων ἐφυοντο
And clustered in their golden pride
Grew vetches by the water side.

75

Bergk, 3 Edm. 3

Sapphic App 16

Αστέρες μὲν αμφὶ κάλαν σελάνταν
ἀφ αποκρυπτοιοι φέντον εἶδος
διπποτα πλήθισια μάλιστα λάμπη
γάν [ἐπὶ παισαν]

Julian *Ep* 19 Σαπφω ἡ καλὴ τὴν σελήνην αργυρέας
φησὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν αλλων ἀστέρων ἀποκρύπτειν τὴν οφιν

2. Cf. Hor. *Od* i 12 45 Edmonds reads λάμπη ἀργυρία γάν

Stars veil their beauty soon
Beside the glorious moon
When her full silver light
Doth make the whole earth bright

76

Bergk, 53 Edm. 112 Ox. Pap 220 9

Ionics (irregular) App 22 31

Πλήρης μὲν ἔφαίνετ’ ἀ σελάννα,
αἱ δ’ ὡς περὶ βῶμον ἐστάθησαν . . .

Heph 36, calls this metre Praxillean Ionic Trimeter
brachycatalectic

Full rose the moon upon the maiden band,
And, as they round the altar took their stand . . .

77

Bergk, 121, Edm. 107

Logaoedics (Greater Asclepiad), *Aρρ* 26

Clearchus (*circa* 300 B C) apud Athenaeum, xii, 554 :
Φυσικὸν γὰρ δῆτι τὸ τοὺς οἰομένους εἶναι καλοὺς καὶ ὡραῖους
ἀνθολογεῖν . δθεν καὶ Σαπφώ φησιν ἴδεῖν κ τ λ

"Ανθε' ἀμέργοισαν ἵδον παῖδ' ἀπάλαν ἔγω ἵδον
Hoffm

Clearchus For, indeed, it is natural that those who
think themselves beautiful and in their bloom should
gather flowers, and Sappho says

A maid full tender did I see,
Picking the wild flowers on the lea.

78

Bergk, 73, Edm 67.

Metre unknown, *Aρρ* 24

Scholiast Aristoph., *Thesm* 401 Νεωτέρων καὶ
ἐρωτικῶν τὸ στεφανηπλοκεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἔθος, ὅτι ἐστεφανη-
πλόκον αἱ παλαιαὶ Σαπφώ.

Αὗται ὡράαι στεφανηπλόκην

Hoffmann for MS αὐταυρααι στεφανηπλόκον Edm.
reads αἱ τ' ὥρααι

Wilam αὐτὰ ὥραία · he says these words undoubtedly
belong to *Fragm* 28 (Bergk, 75) see *Sappho u. Simon*,
p 48 n.

Scholiast, Aristophanes The weaving of garlands was
the occupation of the young and of lovers It was the
ancient custom for women to weave the garlands.

So Sappho —

Fair maids in their love
Many a garland wove.

79

Bergk 16 Edm. 16

Sapphic App 16

The Scholiast on Pindar *Pyth* 1 10 contrasts the picture of the eagle of Zeus lulled to sleep by music and this of the doves by Sappho

ταῖοι [δὲ] φῦχρος μὲν ἔχετο θῦμος
πᾶρ δὲ ταῖοι τὰ πτέρα.

Fick reads φαῦκρος = swift or light from Hesychius as the Scholiast draws a strong contrast and τὸν ἔχειν between the two pictures. But there is no proof that φαῦκρος was used metaphorically and there seems no particular reason why lightness of heart should make the doves slacken their pinions

We get the contrast between the doves and the eagle well enough perhaps if we take the chill of death to be the cause of the former slackening their wings without reading φαῦκρος

Death's cold to their hearts struck chill
And their wings dropt down and were still

80*

Bergk Aic 39 Edm 94 Wilam. S 11 S 61

Logaoedic? App 24

Demetrius Eloc 142 Γίγνονται καὶ ἀπὸ λέξεως χάριτες
η ἐκ μεταφορᾶς ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ τέπτηος

πτερυγαν ὑπακαχέει ληγύραν δοῖθαν
οπποτα φλόγου κατέταν ἐπιπτέμενον καταύλει.

2 κατέταν for x θέτει (= adv καθίτας) κατέταν Finch MS.
κατεπέτη

Demetrius Graces of style arise also from the language used, or from a metaphor, as that of the cricket —

His shrill notes from beneath his wings
Outpoured, the sweet cicala sings,
What time he charms away the fiery heat,
That on the shimmering earth doth beat

81

Bergk, 127, Edm 90

Metre unknown

Aristides, 1, 425 'Γάνος', οὐ 'διαφθεῖρον τὰς ὄψεις', ὡς ἔφη Σαπφώ, ἀλλ' αὐξον καὶ στέφον (sc τὴν πόλιν) . . . 'ὑακινθίνῳ μὲν ἄνθει' οὐδαμῶς 'όμοιον', ἀλλ' οἶνον οὐδὲν πώποτε γῆ καὶ ἥλιος ἔφηναν

2 Cf Hom, *Od* vi, 231

Aristides "Sheen" that does not "blind the sight", as Sappho says, but strengthens it in no way "like the hyacinth flower"

The sheen that like the hyacinth's hue
Dazzles the eye

82*

Bergk, 54, Edm 114, Heph quotes the first two lines separately from the third (§§ 68, 70) without ascribing either to Sappho

Ionic, Aρρ 32

Κρῆσσαι νύ ποτ' ἀδ' ἐμμελέως πόδεσσιν
ἀρχηντ' ἀπάλοις ἀμφ' ἐρόεντα βῶμον,
ποίας τέρεν ἄνθος μάλακον μάτεισαι

1 Cf Apoll Rhod 1, 443, 456

2 Cf Hesiod, *Theog*, ad init

3 Hom, *Od* ix, 449

Thus oft of old in measure meet
The Cretan maids with delicate feet
Danced, danced the lovely altar round
Upon the soft smooth grassy ground

83

Bergk 88 Edm 122

Ionic a minore App 31

Hephaestion 72 says that the whole poem from which his quotation was taken was in the *Ionic a minore* metre (Hor *Od* iii 12) a favourite with Sappho

Tί με Πανδίοντις ωπαττα χελίδων

Οτι ω ραιτα χελιδον Isaac Voss

What thoughts to me Pandion's child doth bring
The heaven haunting swallow of the spring?

On a red figured amphora from Vulci a youth seeing a swallow cries *Ιδού χελιδων* a man sitting near joins in with *Νη τὸν Ηρακλέα* and a boy pointing upwards says *Αυτηλ*. On the left are the words *ξαρ ηοη*

84

**Ηρος αγγελος ιμεροφωτος διήδω*

Bergk 39 Edm 138

Dactylic App 33

Or *Fήρος* Cf Ben Jonson *Sad Shepherd* The nightingale the angel of the spring

The sweet voiced nightingale

Spring's harbinger all hail!

85

On Pap 1231 9 Edm. 41

Sapphic App 16

επίθεσμα

ε γάρος δὲ καὶ

τύχῃ σὸν ξόλῳ

ος κρέτησαι

γῆς μελανες

						[οὐκ ἐθ]έλοισι ναῦται
10	.	.	.	.	.	[με]γάλαις ἀγάταις
						[ἄλ]α κάπὶ χέρσω
						[ἄ]μοθεν πλέοι[μι]
						δὲ τὰ φόρτι' εἰκ
						ν ἄτιμ' ἐπεὶ κ.
15	.	.	.	.	.
	.	.	.	.	.	ρέοντι πόλλ.
	.	.	.	.	.	αι δέκε[σθαι]
	.	.	.	.	.	ει
20	.	.	.	.	.	ιν ἔργα
	.	.	.	.	.	χέρσω
	.	.	.	.	.	γα
		

16 Or πομπ

17 Perhaps δέκα as Lobel

20 Cf Ox Pap 1231, 2, 8 ιν ἔργων

This poem, of which we only possess a few words near the end of each line, was evidently a song relating to the sea, possibly describing a storm at sea. Had we recovered it, it could not fail to have been an interesting example of Sappho's descriptive style.

86

Ox Pap 1787, 3

Choriambic, App 32

'Επτάξατε	.	.	.	.	.
δάφνας ὅτα	.	.	.	.	.
πὰν δ' ἄδιον	.	.	.	.	.
ἢ κῆνον ἐλο	.	.	.	.	.

2 Possibly Δάφνας, as Gr and H. There was a Daphne (Hebr. Tahpanhes) in the Delta. The heroine could hardly be meant

5 καὶ ταῖσι μὲν ἀ
 δθοῖπορος ἀ
 μῆγις δὲ ποτε εἰδίτων ἐκλ
 ψύχα δὲ αγαπτα συν
 τέαντ[α](ν) δὲ νῦν ἔμψι
10 ἴκευθ αγαπ
 ἔφθατε καλῶν
 τὰ τε ἔμψατα κα

θ τ must be wrong as it violates the metre.

A poem incomplete. In this and the following fragment only the beginnings of the lines are preserved. Here there is little to guide as to the meaning of the verses unless we read Δάφνας in line two and refer it either to term Daphne in the Delta or to Apollo's Daphne

87

Ox Pap 1787 3^b
Ionic? App 32

Ονοιρε μελαίνα[ς διὰ νύκτος]
φοίταις στα γ Υπνος [καταχευη βλεφάροισι λέθαιν]
γλυκὺς θέος ή δειπνόνιας μ
ζε χῶρις ἔχην τὰν διναμ
5 ἔλπις δέ μι ἔχει μή πεδέχην
μῆδεν μακάρων ἐλ
οὐ γάρ καὶ οὐδὲν οὐτῶ
ἀθύρματα κα
γένοιτο δὲ μοι
10 τοις πάντα

1 Grenfell and Hunt.

2 Ibid. MS. τ for γ

This fragment has suffered much the same fate as its predecessor but the opening words at least tell us that it

contained an Invocation to a Dream, which, had we possessed it entire, would have been of great interest. It probably came from Book IV.

In the Ox Pap 1787, 3, immediately before the last two poems here given, and separated from them by a *coronis*, are the words,

ἔγεντ[ο]
οὐ γάρ κ[ε]

the beginning of the last two lines of another poem.

88*

Bergk, 9, Edm 9

Sapphic, *Aph* 16

Αἴθ' ἔγω, χρυσοστέφαν' Ἀφρόδιτα,
τόνδε τὸν πάλον λαχόην .

O Aphrodite of the golden crown,
Would that this lot for me were thrown!

89a, b

(a) Bergk, 6, Edm 5

Sapphic *Aph* 16

(b) Bergk, 5, Edm 6

Sapphic, *Aph* 16

Menander, *Rhet Graec* ix, 135, ed Walz *Μέτρον*
μέντοι τῶν κλητικῶν ὅμνων, ἐν μὲν ποιήσει, ἐπιμηκέστερον
ἄμα μὲν γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων τοῖς ποιήταις ἔξεστιν τοὺς
θεοὺς ἀνακαλεῖν, ὡς παρὰ τῇ Σαπφοῖ καὶ τῷ Ἀλκμάνι
πολλαχοῦ εὑρίσκομεν τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἀρτεμιν ἐκ μυρίων
δρέων, μυρίων δὲ πόλεων, ἔτι δὲ ποταμῶν ἀνακαλεῖ τὴν
δὲ Ἀφροδίτην ἐκ Κύπρου, Κνίδου, Συρίας, πολλαχόθεν
ἄλλαχόθεν ἀνακαλεῖ οὐ μόνον γε τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
τόπους αὐτοὺς ἔξεστι διαγράφειν οἷον εἰ ἀπὸ ποταμῶν
καλεῖ, ὕδωρ ἢ ὄχθας καὶ τοὺς ὑποπεφυκότας λεμῶνας καὶ
χόρους ἐπὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς γενομένους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα

προσαγαγράφουσι, καὶ εἰ απὸ ιερῶν ασαυτως ὥστε αναγκη
μακροῦς αυτῶν γενέσθαι τοὺς κλητικοὺς υμέτερους

Athen. τί 463 C κατὰ τὴν καλὴν Σαπφώ

(a) *Η σε Κυπρος καὶ Παφος η Πάνιορμος*
χρισταισιν εἰ κυλίκεσσιν αβρωτ
συμμιμίγματον θαλάσσαι τέκταρ
οιοχόδεισα

(b) *τουτοισι τοις ἑταῖροις εμοῖς γε καὶ σοις*

(a) and (b) may come from the same poem Cf Hor
Od i 30

Line 5 may be the words of Athenaeus

Menander The length of invocatory hymns in poetry is however somewhat drawn out For at the same time the poets can summon the Gods from many habitats as we often find in Sappho and Aleman For the poet¹ summons Artemis for instance from countless hills countless cities and rivers too and Aphrodite is summoned² from Cyprus Cnidos Synta and many other localities Not only so but the poet can describe the places themselves as for example if he calls them from rivers he can describe the flowing water or the banks and they picture also the meadows that grow beside them and the dances that are celebrated there and such things and the same if they call them from their sacred temples So invocatory hymns must necessarily be of a lengthy character

(a) If Cyprus or if Paphos harbour thee
Or the great Haven of the Sea

(b) Come Cyprus golden goblets fill
With love's own nectar wine³
And delicate delight instil
For these friends mine and thine

¹ Query Aleman but Edm. suggests δημίν ⁴ & for τῇ μῆτρι

τῇ μῆτρι

² By Sappho.

³ I.e. with love poetry

90*

Bergk, 62, Edm 103

Choriambic, App 26

*Κατθναίσκει, Κυθέρη', ἄβρος Ἀδωνις τί κε θεῖμεν,
καττύπτεσθε, κόραι, καὶ κατερείκεσθε χίτωνας.*

Cf Anth Pal vii, 407, below, p 184

Maidens Tender Adonis lies a dying,

 O Cytherea, what were best to do ?

Cytherea Go, beat your breasts, ye maids, and crying,

 Rend ye your robes in sign of rue

91*

Bergk, 63, Edm 25

Sapphic (Adonius), App 16

The so-called Adonius (which seems like the last two feet of the Epic hexameter) was used by Sappho as the fourth line of the Sapphic stanza. The words quoted here were no doubt a refrain

Ὤ τὸν Ἀδωνιν
Ah, for Adonis !

92, 93

Bergk, 107, 108, Edm 136

App 18

Φέσπετ' Ὑμήναον
Ὤ τὸν Ἀδώνιον

MSS ΥΕCΖΕΡΥΜΗΝΙΟΝΤΩΝΑΔΩΝΙΟΝ or ΥΕCCE-
PYIAHNION ΩTONAΔΩNION

Sing ye the bridal song
Ah, for Adonius !

94

Bergk 87 Edm 123

Ionic App 31

Ζὰ διεῖδαν ὅναρ Κυπρογενῆ.

To avoid hiatus edd. insert δ or τ but this seems the opening line of a poem. Edm. reads διελεξ

In dreams before the morn

I spake with her the Cyprus-born.

95 96*

Bergk 7 8 Edm 7

Sapphic App 16

Σοὶ δὲ γὰρ λεύκας ἐπὶ βῶμον αἶγος

καπιλείψω τοι

White she-goats were offered to Aphrodite Pandemos
see Lucian *Dial Meretis* vii 1And to thy altar I will bring
A white goat's kid as offering
And a libation pour to thee.

97

Bergk 44 Edm 87 see also *Proceedings Class
Assoc 1921*

Logaoedic App 18

Athenaeus ix 410 E Σαπφω σταυ λέγη δὲ τῷ πέμπτῳ
τῶν Μελῶν πρὸς τὴν Αφροδίτην [καγγόναν] κόσμον
λέγει κεφαλῆς τὰ χειρόμακτραThese χειρόμακτρα appear to be the head cloth usually
called sakkos which we see on coins of Lesbos and on
the so-called busts of Sappho

Χειρόμακτρα δέ καγγόνων
 πορφύρα . . .
 ταῦτα καὶ μοι ἀτιμάσεις,
 [ἄλλ] ἔπειμψ', ἀπὸ Φωκάας
 5 δῶρα τίμια (καγγόνων).¹

1 Seidl κὰγ κόμων Ahrens and Wilam κὰγ γεινῶν.

2 ? πορφύρα, but cf 141

3 MS κα (ορ καὶ) ταυταμενατατιμασεις Or read καὶ κεν ἀτιμάσης
 Edm reads καταρταμένα, τὰ Τίμας εἰς τ' ἔπειμψ', introducing Timas
 from Fragm 164 See Edm 144 and Proc Class Assoc 1921

Athenaeus Sappho in the fifth book of her Lyric, when she is speaking to Aphrodite, calls the *χειρόμακτρα* an adornment of the head

Crimson kerchiefs for thy hair,
 But should'st thou for these not care,
 From Phocaea I have sent
 Costly gifts for thy content

¹ Most editors delete the word καγγόνων (= on the knees) found here in the MS

98

Bergk, 59, Edm 126

Irregular Ionic, App 23

Ψάπφοι, τί τὰν πολύολβον Ἀφροδίταν
 O Sappho, with what prayer address
 Aphrodite rich to bless

99

Bergk, 74, Edm 75.

Choriambic (Lesser Asclepiad), App 28

[Ὥ Ψάπφοι], σύ τε κάμος θεράπων Ἔρος

The name is added by Edm from the context of Max. Tyrius 24 (18)

O Sappho, both thou and thy acolyte Love

100

Bergk 64. Edm. 69

Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad) App 26

Pollux 124 Πρωτην δέ φασι χλαμύδα ονομασας
Σαπφω ἐπὶ τοῦ Ερωτος εἰπονσαν

Ἐλθοντ ἐξ δράνω πορφυρίαν προιέμενον χλαμυν

MS has ἔχοντα after πορφ Seidler reads περθέμενον
for προιέμενον (MS)

Eros from heaven to earth hath passed

A purple mantle round him cast

101

Bergk 132 Edm. 31

Pausanias ix 27 Σαπφω δὲ ἡ Λεσβία πολλά τε καὶ
οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐς Ερωτα γῆσε

Scholiast *Apoll Rhod* 3 26 Σαπφω [γνωριογεῖ τὸν
Ερωτα] Γῆς καὶ Οὐρανοῦ Scholiast *Theocritus* 13 2
Σαπφω [τὸν Ερωτα λέγει υἱὸν εἶναι] Αφροδίτης καὶ
Οὐρανοῦ

Wilam suggests [η γῆς] after Αφροδίτης

Pausanias Sappho the Lesbian has sung many things
to Love and they do not agree one with another

Scholiast, *Apoll Rhod.* Sappho makes Love the child
of Earth and Heaven.

Scholiast *Theocritus* Sappho says Love was the son of
Aphrodite and of Heaven

102

Bergk 125 Edm. 28

Maximus Tyrius ψαλτιν 9 Διοτίμα λέγει οὐ θάλλει
μὴν Ερως ευπορῶν αποθνήσκει δὲ απορῶν τοῦτο Σαπφω

συλλαβοῦσα εἶπε γλυκύπικρον (see 46 above) καὶ ἀλγεσίδωρον τὸν Ἔρωτα λέγει Σαπφώ μυθόπλοκον.

ἀλγεσίδωρον probably the Adonius in a Sapphic stanza.

Maximus Tyrius Diotima (in Plato) says that Love thrives when in affluence, but perishes when in want, compressing this into one word, Sappho called Love "bitter-sweet" (see above 46), and the

Giver of heart-ache

and the

Weaver of fancies

103

Bergk, 117, Edm 79

Choriambic? *Aρρ* 28

Τὸν Φὸν παῖδα κάλει

Heyne for MS εον

Whom she calls her child

104

Bergk, *Adesp* 129, Edm 134

Ionic? *Aρρ* 32

Δολοπλόκας γὰρ Κυπρογένεος πρόπολον . . .

From Aristotle, *Eth* 1149b, and Hesych *Κυπρογενέος πρόπολον.*

Minister he of the Cyprus-born,
That weaver of wiles

105

Bergk, 135, Edm 33

Scholiast, Hesiod, *Op* 73. Σαπφώ φησι τὴν Πειθών *Αφροδίτης θυγατέρα*

Persuasion, the daughter of Aphrodite

106

Bergh 57 A Edm 24

Logaoedic? App 22

Philodemus *Περὶ Εὐσεβείας* speaking of Hecate goes on to say [Σαπ]φω δὲ τ[ὴν] θεόν] φησι

Χρυσοφάη θεράπωνας Αφροδίτας

Some think that τὴν Πειθώ is to be supplied

Philodemus calls the Goddess (? Hecate or Persuasion)

Aphrodite's handmaid golden-shining

107

Ox. Pap 1231 1 = Pap d. Soc. Ital 1 123 Edm 40
Reconstructed by Wilamowitz Vitelli Edmonds and others

Sapphic App 16

Πλάσιον δή μ[οι κατ ὄντα παρέστα]

πότι Ήρα σὰ χ[αρέσσα μόρφα]

τὰν αράταν Ατρ[εῖδαι πρῶ]

τοι βασίλης

5 ἐκτελέσσαντες γ[άρ Ἀρενος εργον]
πρῶτα μὲν πα[ρ ωκυρόω Σκαμανδρω]
τυλ δπορμάθε[ντες οδον περαίνην]
οὐκ ἐδυνατο

πρὸν σὲ καὶ Δῆ δύτ[όμενοι κάλεσσαν]

10 καὶ Θικαρας λιμ[ερόεντα παιδα]
νῦν δὲ κ[αὶ σὺ τῶνδε λίτων ακούσον]
κατ τὸ πά[ροιθε]

αγνα καὶ καλ

πάρθ[ενοι]

3 Edm. ελήσοι.

6 Wilam.

7 Vitelli δε' οἰκος Ιερή Diehl δε' Αργος Ιερή

10 i.e. Dionysus.

12 Diehl and Lobel εὐλαύον

15 [ἀμ]φὶ[σ]

30 ἀντιλ

ἔμμεν[αι]

ρα πι

Vitelli gives a Scholion at the beginning *N τῶμον*
 (= Nikander?).

O Queenly Hera, *in a dream by night*
Beside me stood thy form, a lovely sight,
Whom the Atridae, sovrans of the host,
Saw when their need was most;

When Ares' work on Troy-town they had wrought,
And first from swift Skamander's stream they sought
Home to return again, they might not find
The way's end they designed,

Until to Zeus most high they called for aid,
And to Thyone's lovely child they prayed,
So now do thou too to our prayers give ear,
As when thou erst didst hear

For pure and holy are the things I ask,
Such as a maiden may Be it thy task
Without or grudge or question to fulfil
Thy suppliant servant's will

108

Bergk, 147, Edm 172

Himerius, *Orat* 13, 7 'Ο Μονσαγέτης, οἷον αὐτὸν καὶ
 Σαπφὼ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν ψόδῃ κόμῃ τε χρυσῇ καὶ λύραις
 κοσμήσαντες κύκνοις ἔποχον εἰς Ἑλίκωνα πέμπουσιν,
 Μούσαις Χάρισί τε δόμοῦ συγχορεύσοντα

Edm for συγχορεύσαντα

Himerus The Leader of the Muses (i.e. Apollo) such as he appears when both Sappho and Pindar in a poem deck him with golden hair and lyres and send him to Helicon in a chariot drawn by swans to dance there with the Muses and Graces

109

Bergk 82 Edm 127

Dactylic or Anapaestic App 34

Hephaestion 85 writing of heterogeneous (*ασυναρτήτων*) metres says that a certain heterogeneous line can have its first half divided as a three foot anapaestic if it begins with a spondee like Sappho's

Αυτα δὲ σύ Καλλιόπα

MS τρίτον διαπαισικόν οὐ τρίμετρον αιδπαισιον

And thou thyself Kalliope

110

Or Pap 1787 4.

Choriambic? App 25 ff

σιτα

[Ανδ]ρομέ[δ']

δ ἐλασ

ρο ἡννεμε

5 Ψάπφοι σὲ φίλ

Κύπρῳ βασίλ

καίτοι μέγα δ

δοσσοις Φαέθων

πάρτᾳ κλέος

10 καὶ σ ἐν Αχέρ[οντος]

ρ νη

This poem looks as if it was full of interest, but it is too fragmentary to be of much use to us. Sappho is addressed (or addresses herself) as in 3²⁰ and 7⁵. Andromeda, who may be the heroine (see 39⁵), Aphrodite, and Phaethon made a piquant combination, with Acheron to conclude with

111

Bergk, 31 and 143, Edm 140, 168
Hexameter, App 33

Λάτω καὶ Νιόβα μάλα μὲν φίλαι ἥσαν ἔταιραι.

Leto and Niobe once were the dearest pair of companions

Gellius, xx, 7, says that Sappho (no doubt in this poem) described Niobe as mother of nine sons and nine daughters

112

Bergk, 56, 112, Edm 97, 62, two Fragments united
Choriambic? App 28

*φαῖσι δή ποτα Λήδαν ὑακινθίνοις
 [ἄνθεσι] ὕιον εὔρην πεπυκάδμενον
 ὡίω πόλυ λευκότερον*

1 Herm for ὑακίνθινον Herm [ἄνθεσι] Some MS also have πόταμον Eustath (*Od* xi), 1686, says that S here deals with the story of the Dioscuri

Once on a day, as they do tell,
 With clustering hyacinths nestled round
 Leda an egg far whiter found
 Than any egg of whitest shell

113

Bergk, 145, Edm 170

Servius Verg, *Ecl* vi, 42 Prometheus post factos a

se homines dicitur auxilio Minervae caelum ascensisse et adhibita facula ad rotam solis ignem furatus quem hominibus indicavit. Ob quam causam irati dii duo mala immiserunt terris febres et morbos sicut et Sappho et Hesiodus memorant.

For *febres* perhaps *feminas* as Bergk but cf Hor *Od* 1 3 29

Servius Prometheus after fashioning man is said to have climbed up to Heaven by Minerva's aid and applying a torch to the sun's disk to have stolen fire which he made known to men. The gods being angry in consequence sent two evils upon the earth fevers and diseases as Sappho and Hesiod relate

114

Bergk 134 Edm. 167

Scholiast Apoll. Rhod. iv 57 Περὶ τοῦ τῆς Σελήνης ἔρωτος ιστοροῦσι Σαπφω καὶ Νικανδρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Εὐρωπῆς λέγεται δὲ κατέρχεσθαι εἰς τοῦτο το ἀντρον (Λάτμιον) τὴν Σελήνην πρὸς Ενδυμίωνα

Cf Eudocia 148

Scholiast, Apoll. Rhod. Sappho and Nikander (in the Second Book of his *Europa*) tell of the love of Selene. She is said to have come down to Endymion in this (Latmian) cave

115

Bergk 144 Edm 169

Servius Verg *Aen* vi 21 Quidam septem pueros et septem puellas accipi volunt quod et Plato dicit in *Phaedone* et Sappho in *Lycias* quos liberavit secum Theseus

Servius. Some will have this to mean that there were seven boys and seven girls, as Plato says in his Phaedo and Sappho in her Lyrics, whom Theseus set free at the same time as himself

116

Bergk, 62ⁿ, Edm 104

Pausanias, ix, 29, 8 (cf 1, 29, 2) *Πάμφως δὲ, ὃς Ἀθηναῖοις τῶν ὄμνων ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους, οὗτος ἀκμάζοντος ἐπὶ τῷ Λίνῳ τοῦ πένθους, Οἰτολίνον ἐκάλεσεν αὐτόν Σαπφὼ δὲ ἡ Λεσβία τοῦ Οἰτολίνου τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν Πάμφω μαθοῦσα "Ἄδωνιν ὅμοῦ καὶ Οἰτολίνον ἦσε*

Pausanias Pamphōs, who composed for the Athenians their oldest hymns, called Linus in the passage, where the mourning over him was at its height, Oitolinus (*Dead Linus*), and Sappho, learning the name from the verses of Pamphōs, sang of Adonis and Oitolinus together.

117

Edm, p 156

Philostratus, *Vit Apollonii*, 1, 30 'Ο Ἀπολλώνιος καλέσας τὸν Δάμιν 'Ἡρον με,' ἔφη, 'πρώην, ὅτι ὄνομα ἦν τῇ Παμφύλῳ γυναικὶ ἡ δὴ Σαπφοῖ τε ὄμιλῆσαι λέγεται καὶ τοὺς ὄμνους οὓς ἐς τὴν Ἀρτεμιν τὴν Περγαίαν ἀδουσι συνθεῖναι τὸν Αἰολέων τε καὶ Παμφύλων τρόπον καλεῖται τοίνυν ἡ σοφὴ αὐτῇ Δαμοφύλη, καὶ λέγεται τὸν Σαπφοῦς τρόπον παρθένους τε ὄμιλητρίας κτήσασθαι ποιήματά τε συνθεῖναι τὰ μὲν ἐρωτικά, τὰ δὲ ὄμνους τά τοι ἐς τὴν Ἀρτεμιν καὶ παρώδηται αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Σαπφών ἥσται'

Philostratus Apollonius, calling Damis, said, You asked me the other day what was the name of the Pamphylian lady, who is said to have associated with

Sappho and to have composed the hymns which they sing to Artemis of Perga in the Aeolian and Pamphylian modes Well this talented woman was called Damophyla and she is said to have had girls as associates like Sappho and like her composed poems some love poems and others hymns to the gods The hymns to Artemis were written by her in imitation of Sappho and followed the Sapphic model

EPITHALAMIA

It is supposed that Sappho's wedding songs were collected together in a separate book, perhaps the eighth or ninth and last, at the end of the edition of her poems which was arranged according to subjects

The writing of these epithalamia, or bridal songs, for friends and clients in Lesbos and elsewhere was an important and possibly lucrative part of Sappho's professional work

Some of these were processional, for use when the bride was being escorted in a chariot to the bridegroom's house by relations and friends carrying torches, singing to the music of flutes, and jesting, while flowers were thrown at the "happy pair" At the bridegroom's house they were received by the mother-in-law, and sweetmeats, as we use rice, were showered upon them as a symbol of plenty The banquet, if it had not already taken place at the bride's house, was now celebrated A second wedding song could be sung at this point

But the real epithalamium was sung outside the bridal chamber, when the *θυρωρός*, the bridegroom's friend, had shut the door and stood guard before it, the girl-friends of the bride being supposed to make attempts to rescue her from the clutches of the male These are the mock combats referred to on such occasions, at which the *θυρωρός* was subjected to jests and satirical remarks, from which the bridegroom himself was by no means exempt

The bridegroom was called *νυμφίος*, but Sappho uses the word *γαμβρός* (son-in-law), and the best man was named *παρανύμφιος* The word *νύμεναίος* describes the whole musical part of the ceremonies, but especially



2



3



4



5



6



All these except No. 4 are from the Vienna Museum, being
IMPERIAL BRONZE COINS OF MITYLENE AND ERESUS

No. 4 is Syracusan coin at Paris

[See p. 150]

the wedding song and not seldom the god of marriage. These wedding rites were essentially religious in character and began with sacrifices to Hera Artemis Aphrodite Urania and Persuasion the daughter of Aphrodite as she was called.

The epithalamium proper which was sung before the bridal chamber at night (sometimes a song at dawn) was accompanied with dancing. The chorus consisted of girls and young men who answered one another. We trace this dialogue form in some of our fragments and it is possible that even the bride took part in them.

The favourite month for marriages was Gamelion (from γάμος) which corresponded to the end of January and the beginning of February.

We can get some idea of what Sappho's wedding songs in their entirety may have been like from Catullus who evidently had Sappho before his eyes in his *Carmen Nuptiale* and his *Juliae et Manliae Epithalamium*. For Greek examples we have the exquisite *Epithalamium of Helen* by Theocritus and the concluding passage in the *Peace* of Aristophanes.

Aristaenetus¹ a writer of imaginary letters tells us that the epithalamia of Sappho opened with an invocation of the Muses and Graces. This was followed by the praises of bride and bridegroom. There seems also to have been a part composed by Sappho to do duty at all weddings.

Himerius² the rhetorician who wrote a hundred and fifty years earlier³ has given us a detailed and rather florid description of the technique of Sappho's wedding songs as follows —

¹ Aristaeetus, I, 10 (a.d. 450)

² Himerius, *Orat.* I, 4 f.

Bergk, 93 Edm. p 174

“ From the poets themselves we can learn how difficult it is to find a melody tender (*ἀπαλὸν*) enough to please the Goddess with the song. For methinks the majority of these, though adepts in love-poetry, have pictured Hera indeed with all the hardihood of boys and girls, but left the mysteries of Aphrodite wholly to Sappho for the song to the lyre and the composition of the epithalamium. It is she who after the (mock) combats enters the bridal precincts, decorates the room, spreads the couch, marshals the maidens into the bridal chamber, brings Aphrodite in her car of Graces, and a bevy of Loves to play with her. She twines the bride’s hair with hyacinths, except where the forehead parts it, the rest she lets the breezes ruffle gently as they list, but the wings of the Loves and their locks she decks with gold, and despatches them before the car as an escort waving their torches on high ”

“ It was Sappho’s way, then, to liken the maiden to an apple, giving to those who were eager to pick it before it was ripe thus much grace as to taste it [not even] with their finger-tips, but to him that looked to gather the fruit in due season, so much as to wait for the prime of its beauty ”

“ And it was her way to liken the bridegroom to Achilles and to compare the youthful bridegroom’s achievements to those of the hero ”

We find also a bridal invocation in Himerius,¹ which may have been an imitation of Sappho —

“ O Bride, within whose breast
The rosy Loves make nest,
O Bride, of Paphos’ Queen
The loveliest likeness seen,

¹ Himerius, *ibid*, § 6

Go to thy marriage bed
 Go to the couch now spread
 Thy bridegroom there to meet
 And share in dalliance sweet.
 And may bright Hesper guide
 Thee willing to his side
 Looking with wondering prayer
 On Hera's silver chair
 That yokes each wedded pair

It is supposed that Sappho drew upon Folk Songs for appropriate metre and phrasing and expressions in her bridal ditties.

118

Bergk 84 Edm. 129
Trochaic App 35ⁿ 36

Δεῦρο δῆντε Μούσαι χρύσιον ληποισαι.

MS *δεῦρε* Heph. 106 calls the metre two ithyphallics
 Hither again O Muses come
 Leaving on high your golden *home* !

119

Bergk 65 Edm. 68

Choriambic (Greater Asclepiad) App 26

Heph. 35 says that the whole of Sappho's third book was in this metre

Βροδοπάχεες αγραί Χάρπατε δεῦτε Δίος κόραι

Schol. Theocr. 28 (which is full of Sapphic words) says that Idyll is written in this sixteen syllable Sapphic metre

Neither this nor the preceding need of course be the opening of a bridal song but it seems possible see above

P 151

Ye rose armed virgin Graces three
 Daughters of Zeus come hither to me !

120

Bergk, 60, Edm 101

Choriambic, App 27

Horace, *Od* 1, 8, uses this metre, the greater Sapphic, but he makes the third syllable long

Δεῦτέ νυν ἄβραι Χάριτες, καλλίκομοί τε Μοῖσαι

Ye delicate Graces three,

And ye Muses fair

With your lovely hair,

Come hither, I pray, to me

121*

Bergk, 103, Edm 160

Trochaic, App 35, 37

Χαίροις, ἀ νύμφα, χαιρέτω δ' ὁ γάμιβρος

MS *χαίροις ἀνύμφα*, Neue *Χαίροισθα* Cf Theocr 18, 49 Possibly the ἀ may be counted short, as Edm

All hail to the bride, to the bridegroom all hail !

122

Bergk, 105, Edm 162

Logaoedic, App 19

. . . *Χαῖρε, νύμφα,*

Χαῖρε, τίμιε γάμιβρε, πόλλα

Called by Heph 56 the nine-syllabled Sapphic

All welcome, Bride, to thee !

Thou, honoured Bridegroom, welcome be !

123

Bergk, 106, Edm 163

Choriambic, App 26

Oὐ γάρ [ἐστ'] ἀτέρα νῦν πάις, ὁ γάμιβρε, τοαύτα

**Hi* is given by one MS instead of *την*. It is difficult to follow the remarks of Dionys. *Com.* p 25 on the metre.

There is no maid beside
O bridegroom like thy bride

124

Bergk 99 Edm 155

Logaoedic *App* 19

Ολβίε γάμιβρε σοι μὲν δη γάμος ως αραο
ἐκτετέλεστ εχῆς δὲ πάρθεινον αν αραο

For repetition cf 125 and Hor. *Od* 1 13 1 2 For
ολβίε cf Theocr. *Ephth* *Hel* 16

O happy bridegroom now
The marriage rites are done
Thou pravedst for and thou
The prayed for maid hast won

125*

Bergk 104 Edm 161

Logaoedic? *App* 34

Τιω σ ὁ φίλε γαμιβρε καλως εἰκάσδω ;
δρπακι βραδίνω σε κάλιστ εἰκάσδω

1 See note on 124

Dear Bridegroom in what likeness were it well
Thy praise in song to tell ?
To the fresh tender sapling of a tree
I best may liken thee

126

Bergk 100 Edm 158

Logaoedic *App* 19

Choncius apud *Graux Textes Grecs* 97 Εγω ουρ
τὴν νυμφὴν Σαπφικῆ μελωδίᾳ κοσμησω

Σοὶ χάριεν μὲν εἰδος ὅππατα τ' . . .
 μέλλιχ', ἔρος δ' ἐπ' ἴμέρτῳ κέχυται προσώπῳ,
 καὶ σε τετίμακ' ἔξοχως Ἀφροδίτα

MS *μελιχρ(ά)* Cf Catull 48, 1, *mellitos oculos*, and 61, 194, *Pulcher es, neque te Venus neglegit*. The second line is quoted by Hepha 102, as *μελλίχοος δ' κ.τ λ.*

Choricius I therefore will honour the bride with a Sapphic melody —

Thy form is full of grace,
 Tender thine eyes and sweet, and love
 O'er-floods thy charming face,
 And Aphrodite's *grace* all else above
 Gives thee the foremost place

127

Bergk, 93², Edm 157

Hexameter ² *Aph* 33

Himerius, *Orat* 1, 19 φέρε οὖν εἴσω τοῦ θαλάμου παράγοντες τὸν λόγον ἐντυχεῖν τῷ κάλλει τῆς νύμφης πείσομεν

²Ω κάλα, ὡ χαρίεσσα [κόρα]

πρέπει γάρ σοι τὰ τῆς Λεσβίας ἐγκώμια . σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ῥοδόσφυροι χάριτες χρυσῆ τ' Ἀφροδίτη συμπαίζουσιν.

Cf Theoc, *Ephth Helen* 38

Himerius. Come, then, taking our discourse into the bridal chamber, we will prevail on it to invoke the beauty of the bride,

O beautiful, O passing sweet !

For the praises of the Lesbian poetess become thee, for with thee indeed sport the rosy-ankled Graces and golden Aphrodite

128

Bergk 83 Edm 128

Hexameter? App 33

[Νῦν] δάνοις ἀπόδας επάρας ἐν στήθεσι

δάνω used only here by Sappho

In sweet sleep mayst thou rest
On thy soft comrade's breast!

129

Bergk 95 Edm 149

Hexameter App 33

Φέσπερε πάντα φέρων ὅσα φαύσολις ἐσκέδασ αυως
φέρεις διν φέρεις αλγα φέρεις τ απυ μάτερι παιδα

2 Bergk for MS. φέρεις διν Bergk. For MS. δάνοις See Catull.
62, 10

All that the glittering morn hath driven afar
Thou callest home O evening Star!

Thou callest sheep thou callest kid to rest
And children to their mother's breast

130

Bergk 133 Edm 32

Sapphic App 16

Himerius *Orat* viii 9 Αστήρ αίματι συ τις ἐσπέριος
Αστέρων πάντων ο κάλιστος

Σαπφοῦς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ εἰς Ἔσπερον φόμα

Cf Himer vii 17 Catull. 62 20

Himerius Thou art in some sort methinks an evening
star

Fairest of all the stars

As Sappho says in her song to Hesperus

131

Bergk, 102, Edm 159

Hexameter? *Aph* 33

"*Ηρ' ἔτι παρθενίας ἐπιβάλλομαι,*

Hoffm reads *παρθενίκας* from Scholiast, Dion Thrax

See Bergk

Can it be that I still for my maidenhead long?

132*

Bergk, 96, Edm 152

Hexameter? *Aph* 33

ἀιπάρθεινος ἔσσομαι

Ever-a-maid shall I be

133

Bergk, 93, Edm 150 Sung by chorus of maidens

Hexameter, Aph 33

Scholiast Hermogenes, *Rhet Gr* vii, 953, Walz *Ai μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἰδεῶν μονοειδεῖς ἔχουσι τὰς ἐννοίας καὶ ὅσαι τὰ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἡδέα ἐκφράζουσιν ὅψει ἀκοῇ ὁσφρήσει γένουσει ἀφῇ, ὡς . καὶ Σαπφώ*

Οἶν τὸ γλυκύμαλον ἐρεύθεται ἄκρῳ ἐπ' ὕσδω ἄκρον ἐπ' ἄκροτάτῳ λελάθοντο δὲ μαλοδρόπησού μὰν ἐκλελάθοντ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδύναντ' ἐπίκεσθαι

Catull in his *Epith* 61, 88, 62, 48, has these lines and 134 in mind

Scholiast Hermogenes For some sorts of style have to do with thoughts of one kind only and as many as express things pleasing to the senses, sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, as and Sappho —

As a sweet-apple rosy, O Maid, art thou,
At the uttermost tip of the uttermost bough,
Unseen in the autumn by gatherer's eyes—
Nay seen, but only to tantalize

134*

Bergh 94 Edm 151 Sung by chorus of youths.

Hexameter App 33

Demetrius Eloc 106 Τὸ δὲ ἐπιφωνῆμα καλουμένον ὀρίζοιτο μὲν αὐ τις λέξιν ἐπικοσμοῦσας εστὶ δὲ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ἐν τοις λόγοις τῆς γαρ λέξεως η μὲν υπηρέτει η δὲ ἐπικοσμει υπηρέτει μὲν η τοιάδε οιαν καταστείβοντοι' ἐπικοσμει δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενοι το χαμαί αὐθος ἐπεγνηγυκται τουτο τοις προλε λεγμένοις κόσμος σαφῶς καὶ κάλλος καὶ καθόλου τὸ ἐπιφωνῆμα τοις τῶν πλουσιών εοικεν ἐπιδεύμασιν οἷον γάρ τι καὶ αυτο τοῦ ἐν λόγοις πλουτου σημειῶν δοτι

Οιαν τὰν υάκινθον ἐν ορρει ποίμνεις ανδρες πόσσοι καταστείβοισι χόμαι δέ τε πόρφυροι αὐθος

1 Cf. note to 133

2 πόρφυροι for πορφύροι not Sapphic says Lobel.

Demetrius The *epiphonema* as it is called one might define as a phrase that embellishes and it is of the highest importance in producing elevation of style for one part of the phrase ministers to the thought the other embellishes it A case of the former is this As a hyacinth etc. while the embellishment comes in with the following clause Embellishment and beauty clearly result from the addition made to the preceding words and in general the epiphonema is on a par with the displays of the rich For indeed it may be said to be in itself a mark of wealth in words —

Like a hyacinth flower on the mountain side
Trod down by the shepherd's feet in the clay
On the earth lies fading its purple pride.

135

Bergh 109 Edm. 164

Choriambic App 27

*Παρθενία, Παρθενία, ποῖ με λίποισ' [ἀπ]οίχῃ,
Οῦκετι πρός σ', οῦκετι πρός σ'* ηξω

2 MS οὐκέτι ἥξω πρός σε, οὐκέτι ἥξω

Her Virginity Ah, never more, O maiden mine,
Shall I be thine, shall I be thine !

This would be a morning welcome

136

Bergk, 91, Edm 148

Hexameter with refrain, App 33

Demetrius, Eloc 148 Ἔστι δέ τις ἴδιως χάρις
, Σαπφικὴ ἐκ μεταβολῆς, ὅταν τι σίπουσα μεταβάλληται καὶ
ῶσπερ μετανοήσῃ οἶον . ὕσπερ ἐπιλαμβανομένη ἔαυτῆς
ὅτι ἀδυνάτῳ ἐχρήσατο ὑπερβολῆ, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῷ Ἀρητῷ
ἴσος ἐστί

”Ιψοι δὴ τὸ μέλαθρον — ’Υμήναον
ἀέρρετε τέκτονες ἄνδρες — ’Υμήναον
γάμβρος Φίσσος ”Αρευ(ι) — [’Υμήναον]
ἄνδρος μεγάλω πόλυ μέσδων — [’Υμήναον]
ἔρχεται

5 ἔρχεται

1. Of *über*

3 Cf Hom, *Od* viii, 115 Lobel

Demetrius There is a grace of style, characteristic of Sappho, arising from her changing an expression, when after saying something, she takes it back and as it were alters her mind, for instance (as below), pulling herself up as it were, because she has used an impossible exaggeration, no one being as tall as Ares

Raise high, ye workmen all,

The roof-tree of the hall

Sing, sing the wedding song !

For more than mortals tall
 Like Ares in the throng
 The bridegroom comes along
 Sing sing the wedding song!

137

Bergk 92 Edm. 148

Hexameter Appr 33

Πέρροχος ως ὅτι ἄοιδος ὁ Λέσβιος αλλοδαποῖσιν

Pre-eminent art thou as when

The Lesbian bard outsings all other men

Possibly Tergander is meant

138 and 139*

Bergk 98 Edm. 154

Aeolic Tetrameter Appr 34

Demetrius Eloc 167 Άλλως δὲ σκωπτει Σαπφω τὸν αυρουκον υμιφίον καὶ τὸν θυρωρὸν τὸν ἐν τοις γάμοις ευτελέστατα καὶ ἐν πέζοις δύνμασι μᾶλλον η ἐν ποιητικοις ωστε αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἔστι τὰ ποιήματα ταῦτα διαλέγεσθαι η ἀδεια συδ ἄν δρμόσαι πρὸς τον χορον η πρὸς τὴν λύραν εἰ μή τις ειη χορός διαλεκτικός

Θυρωρω πόδες ἐπτορογυιοι
 τὰ δὲ σάμβαλα πεμπεβόηα
 πόσσυγγοι δὲ δέκ ἐξεπόνασαν

Synesius Ep 3 158

Ο δε ἀδικούμενος Αρμόνιος ἔστω ο τοῦ Θυρωροῦ πατήρ ως αν εἴποι Σαπφω τὰ μὲν αλλα σωφρων καὶ μέτριοι ἐν τῷ καθ ἑαυτὸν βίᾳ γενόμενος ἀλλ υπὲρ εὐγενειας αμφισβητῶν τῷ Κέκροπι διετέλεσεν

Demetrius In another style Sappho chaffs the boorish bridegroom and the keeper of the door at the wedding in the most everyday terms, and such as are more fitted for prose than poetry Consequently these poems of hers are better spoken than sung, and would not be adapted for a chorus or the lyre unless, indeed, it were a chorus that conversed in dialogue

Seven fathoms are his feet,
The keeper's of the door,
Five hides they need complete,
And cobblers half a score

Synesius The man that is wronged is Harmonius, the father of Thyrōrus, who, as Sappho would say, though in all other respects he lived soberly and honestly all his days, yet in respect of descent never ceased to dispute it with Cecrops himself

140a, b

Bergk, 51, Edm 146

Logaoedic, but see Aρρ 24

Athen x, 425 C, xi, 475 A

- (a) κῆ δ' ἀμβροσίας μὲν κράτηρ ἐκέκρατο,
"Ερμας δ' ἔλεν ἔρπιν θέοισ' οἴνοχόησαι,
- (b) κῆνοι δ' ἄρα πάντες καρχάσι' ὄνηχον
κἄλειβον, ἄράσαντο δὲ πάμπαν ἔσλα
γάμβρω

2 ἔρπιν said to be an Egyptian word for wine v1 ὄλπιν = a bowl
3 καρχ ὄνηχον Hoffm Edm

At the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, or possibly Heracles and Hebe?

(a) There stood the ambrosia mingled in the cup
 And Hermes for the gods their wine did pour
 (b) And then they all held each his goblet up
 And due libation made
 And for the bridegroom prayed
 Of all good things and fair a plenteous store.

141

Ox. Pap 1232 i Edm 66

Logaoedic App 34The home-coming of Hector with his bride
 Andromache to Troy

Κυπρο

ατ

κάρυνξ ηλθε θ[έων]

ελε

θειε

Ιδαος· τα δὲ κα

φ[αι]εις τάχις αγγελος

τᾶς τ αλλας Λοιας τδ ἐσαρ κλέος αφθιτος

5 Εκτωρ καὶ συγέταιροι αγοισ ἐλικωπίδα
 Θήβας ἐξ ιδρας Πλακίας τ απ α[ι]τ[η]ιάω
 αβραν Αιδρομάχαν ειτ γανου ἐπ αλμυροι
 πόντον πόδλα δ [ἐλμ]υρατα χρυσια καρματα
 πορφυρα κάλα τ αν τ[ρό]ια ποίκιλ αθύρματα10 ἀργυρ[α τ] διάριθμα ποτιγρα καλέφαιτ
 ως ειπ οτραλλως δ ονιδρουσε πάτηρ φίλος
 φόμα δ ηλθε κατά πτόδιν εύρυχ[ορο]ν φίλοις
 αυτικ Ιλιάδαι σατιραις υπ ἐϋτρόχοις
 ἀγον αιμιδροις ἐπέβαινε δε παις οχλος15 γυναικων τ αμα παρθενίκαρ τε τ[αν]υσφύρων
 χῶρις [δ] αν Περάμοιο θυγατρες [ἐπήσιαι]
 ἴπποις δ ανδρες υπαγον υπ αρματ υμοι δ «βαν»
 π[άντ]εις ηθεοι μεγάλωστι δ

δ ανίσχοι φ

20 π εξαγον

unknown number of lines lost .

·

 ὕκελοι θέοις
 ἄγνον ἀόλ[λεες]
 ὅρμαται
 αὐλος δ' ἀδυμέλη
 25 καὶ ψόφο[ς κ]ροτάλ[ων] ως δ' ἄρα πάρθενοι
 ἄξειδον μέλος ἄγν[ον] ἵκα]νε δ' ἐς αἴθ[ερα]
 ἄχω θεσπεσί[α] γεγ
 πάντᾳ δ' ἵσ κὰτ ὅδο[ις]
 κράτηρες φίαλαι τ' ο ννεδε . . . ακ
 30 [φοῖνιξ] καὶ κισία λίβανος τ' ὄνεδείχνυτο
 γύναικες δ' ἐλέλυξαν ὅσαι προγενέστεραι,
 πάντες δ' ἄνδρες ἐπήρατον ἵαχον ὅρθιον
 πάων' ὄνκαλέοντες Ἐκάβολον εὐλύραν
 ὅμηρην δ' Ἐκτορα κ(αὶ) Ἀνδρομάχαν θεοϊκέλο[ις]

Σαφοῦς μέλη
 (ορ μελῶν) β'

A swift messenger from Ida heralds the approach of
 Hector, and his bride Andromache—the deathless glory
 of Asia

5 " See Hector with his trusty comrades brings
 From sacred Thebes and Placia's living springs
 The delicate bright-eyed Andromache
 In ships that sail upon the briny sea ,
 And many a golden bracelet do they bear,
 10 And many a purple robe and broidery fair,
 And countless silver cups and ivory chased "

4 Lobel reads δὲ γᾶν

6 ιαρ corr in MS from ιέρας

8 In ἔμματα the digamma is disregarded, as in ἐλικώπιδα ἐλιγμ = ψέλια Hesych see Wilam

9 Edm ἀθρήματα from Hesychius τρόνα Lobel (Hesych), see Homer, *Il* x, 441 But in his new edition Lobel gives κὰτ ἀντμενα

He spake and Hector's dear sire rose in haste
 While through the wide ways to their loved ones ran
 The tidings and of Ilion's sons each man

15 Put mules to the swift cars wherein the throng
 Of dames and slim foot maids should ride along
 And Priam's daughters had their place apart
 And lusty youths yoked chariots for the start
 And down the sounding streets of spacious Troy
 20 The charioteers raced in their reckless joy

*And as to famous Troy like gods they rode
 Around the chariot wheels there ever flowed
 A stream of people cheering as they went
 In one great happy throng together blent
 25 And the sweet flute with castanets did vie
 And maids sang sacred songs that reached the sky
 And thankful prayers to all the Gods were made*

And incense cast on altars as they prayed
 The elder women raised a joyful cry
 30 While from the men the lovely paean high
 To Phoebus of the tuneful lyre outrang
 As god like Hector and Andromache they sang

This piece is epic rather than lyrical and Wilam.
 judges it away from Sappho

14 αἴρειν Cf. Oxf. Pap. 1233 1 2, 13

16 Περδίστης Epic Genitive διήγειρε Wilam

18 οἴεσθαι Epic for οἴεσθαι Acol.

21 Cf. 63.

28 φοῖνις Jurenka. Lobel μέρραι.

28 Corrected from δρεῖλυρα. The δ might be λ.

29 Corrected from δλαυεστος

31 MS. οὐδενα.

32 Imp. from δηρηκι, δηριε—δηρηκερ

Ox Pap 1231, 56; Edm 47

Sapphic, App 16

νύκτ

5 πάρθενοι δὲ
 παρρυχίσδομεν
 σὰρ ἀείδοισσι φιλότατα καὶ νύμι;
 φας ἰσκόλων
 ἀλλ' ἐγέρθει[ς]
 10 στείχε σοις [φίλοις]
 ἥπερ ὄσσον ἡ
 ὅπτον ἔδωμεν

Μελῶν α'

χηηηδδ

4 κ might be μ, but the τ ε μ αν αν δ

7 Wilam cf Theocrit, 18, 51

9 Or ἐγέρθετ

* i.e. 1320 lines in Book I

According to a note that follows this poem, it must have been the last of the first Book, which we know was composed of poems in the Sapphic stanza. But the words which are preserved seem to point to its being, like the next, a bridal song. The epithalamia, however, were in one recension of Sappho's poems grouped together in a separate book (viz. the 8th or 9th).

Ox Pap 1232, 1, Edm 65

Logaoedic? App 34

5

λε γάρ
κάλος
ακαλα κλόνει
κάματος φρένα[ς]
ε καπισδάνει
αλλ αυτ ὡ φίλαι
αγχι γάρ αμέρα

6 Corrected to φίλα.

8 = δύεται

9 Possibly the words Σαφοῖς μελῶν follow this poem.

The concluding words seem to show that this like the last may be a bridal song—a welcome at the bride's door or window in the early hours of the morning
Compare 135 above

144

Bergk 89 Edm 105

Choriambic App 26

Pollux vii 73 *Εν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Σαπφοῖς Μελῶν*
εστιν εύρειν

Αμφὶ δ ἀβροισιν λαστοῖσιν εῦ ἐπικασσε

Pollux In the Fifth Book of Sappho 2 Lyrics we find

And linen soft she wound

Thy dainty limbs around

145

Bergk 50 Edm 56 Herodian 39 27 from the
second Book of Sappho

Logaoedic? App 34

ἔγω δ ἐπὶ μολθίκαν

τύλαν κασπολέω μέλε

2 Hermann for MS. επολέω

On a soft cushion prest
I lay thy limbs to rest

146

Bergk, 81, Edm 57

Ionic, App 32

Κὰμ μέν τε τύλαν κασπολέω

MS *κᾶν μέν τε τυλαγκας ἀσπόλεα*

Down indeed the cushion will I lay.

147

Bergk, 19, Edm 20

πόδας δὲ
ποίκιλος μάσλης ἐκάλυπτε, Λύδι-
ον κάλον ἔργον

2 = μάσθης

Upon her feet a spangled leather band,
The fair work of a Lydian hand

148

Bergk, 43, Edm 141

Sapphic, App 34

ὅτα πάννυχος ἄσφι κατάγρει
[ὅππατ' ἄωρος]

2 Bergk, but placed here by Edm

And sleep the whole night round
Their eyes fast closed hath bound

149

Bergk, 57, Edm 141a

Dactylic, App 34

Οφθαλμοις δὲ μέλαις [χύτο] νύκτος ἄωρος

If χ υρο be omitted δφθάλμους would = δφθάλμους
 And on their heavy eyes
 The night's dark slumber lies

149a

Bergk 66 Edm 70
Choriambic App 26

δ δ Αρες φαιστ κεν Αφαιοτον αγην βίᾳ
 But Ares makes his brag
 By force Hephaestus he could drag

150

Bergk 97 Edm 153
Hexameter App 33

Δωσομεν ήσι πάτηρ

Gifts will we give quoth the father

151

Bergk 23 Edm 23.
Sapphic App 16

Καὶ ποθήω καὶ μάομαι

On a red figured amphora are depicted a player on the cithara and a youth reclining opposite who says MAME KAI ΠΟΤΕΙΟ, see Kretschmer *Vasen Inschriften* p 86

I love and I long

152

Bergk 20 Edm 21
Sapphic App 16

παντοδάπαι μεμειγμένα χροῖαισιν

Quoted by Schol. Apoll. Rhod 1 727 in reference to Jason's mantle.

A coat of many colours blent

The Scholiast contrasts Sappho's description of the cloak with that of Apollonius who says that it was red

153

Bergk, 25, Edm 50

Dactylic, App 34

Possibly the Adonius in a Sapphic stanza, but it might be the end of a hexameter line

Ἄσ θέλετ' υμμες

Quoted, with οὗτι μοι υμμες (see Bergk, 23, Edm 49), as from Sappho, Bk II. The latter is found in Hom, *Il* 1, 335

While you are willing

154

Bergk, 168, Edm 132

Ionic ? *App* 32. *It might be Iambic or begin an Alcaic line, see App 21*

Τίοισιν ὀφθάλμοισιν . . .

With what eyes shall I behold ?

155

Bergk, 115, Edm 27

Ὀπταίς ἄμμε

Probably Aphrodite or Eros is addressed

Our heart thou scorchest

156*

Ox Pap 220, 9, Edm 113a

Logaoedic (or Ionic), App 22, 31

(a) [Εὐδαιμονίαν τε καύεινα]

Good fortune and good health.

(b) [Γῆρας] ζαφύγοιμι παιδες ηβα
[καλλιστον]

Old age! Ah ye girls may it never be mine!
It is youth it is youth that is only divine!

1 Edm. Blaas reads [Ερωτ'] δύτειν and in the next line [δυσασθε]

2 Edm. and Blaas, but Blaas puts γῆρας in a preceding line and
reads δύσασθε φεγγι τελλειν. Lobel rejects εὐδαιμονίαν

157

Bergk 47 Edm 95

Choriambic App 18^a

Zenobius Prov 1 58 Επὶ τῶν αωρως τελευτησαντων
ἥτοι ἐπὶ τῶν φιλοτέκνων μὲν τρυφῇ δὲ διαφθειρόντων αὐτα
Γέλλω γάρ τις ἡν παρθένος καὶ ἐπειδὴ διωρως ἀτελέντης
φασὶν οι Λέσβιοι αυτῆς τὸ φάντασμα ἐπιφοιταν ἐπὶ τὰ παιδία
καὶ τους τῶν ἀωρων θανάτους αυτῇ ανατίθεσοι

Γέλλως παιδοφιλωτέρα

Zenobius Used of those who die before their time or
of those who are fond of children but ruin them by
cosseting them up For Gello was a maid and since she
died before her time the Lesbians say that her ghost
haunts little children and they put down to her the deaths
of those who die before their time

Fonder of children she
Than Gello e'er could be

Zenobius says that Sappho referred to her

158

Bergk 116 Edm 131

Trochaic App 21 35

Ημιτύβιον στάλασσον
A dripping napkin

Bergk, 122, 123, *Adesp* 76, Edm 59, 60, 61

Demetrius *Eloc* 161 'Εκ δὲ ὑπερβολῶν χάριτες μάλιστα αἱ ἐν ταῖς κωμῳδίαις, πᾶσα δὲ ὑπερβολὴ ἀδύνατος ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ εἴδους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτά ἔστιν. καὶ τὰ Σαπφικά

- (a) πόλυ πάκτιδος ἀδυμελεστέρα
- (b) χρύσω χρυσοτέρα

Gregorius ad Hermogen, *Rhet. Graec* vii, 2236 Walz

Αἰσχρῶς μὲν κολακεύει τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐκεῖνα ὅσα ἔστιν ἔρωτικά, οἷον τὰ Ἀνακρέοντος, τὰ Σαπροῦς οἷον

- (c) γάλακτος λευκοτέρα
- (d) *ῦδατος ἀπαλωτέρα
- (e) πηκτίδων ἐμμελεστέρα
- (f) βρόδων ἀβροτέρα
- (g) *ἰματίου ἔανοῦ μαλακωτέρα
- (h) χρύσω τιμιωτέρα
- (i) *ναρκίσσου τερενώτερον

Which of these are from Sappho can only be guessed
I leave the non-Aeolic forms of the MS

Cf "Softer than sleep" (Anth Pal ix, 567, Theocr xv, 125), etc It is difficult to see why such expressions should be so severely condemned The instances marked with an asterisk were very possibly by Anacreon, whom Gregorius mentions first

Demetrius From hyperboles arise especially the charms of comedies, and every hyperbole is an impossibility, such as this of Aristophanes Of the same kind are phrases such as , and these of Sappho —

- (a) (A girl) Far sweeter-tuned than the lyre ,
- (b) .. More gold than gold

Gregorius The ear is tickled in an unseemly way by such erotic tricks of expression as are found in Anacreon and Sappho as for instance —

- (c) (a girl) Whiter than milk
- (d) Softer than water
- (e) More tuneful than the lyre
- (f) Daintier than roses
- (g) Softer than silk
- (h) More precious than gold
- (i) (A thing) More tender than a narcissus

160

Bergh 61 129 Edm 30 102

Logaoedic

Philostratus *Imagg* ii 1 Τοσοῦτοι ἀμιλλῶνται αἱ παρθένοι ροδοπηχεῖς καὶ ἐλικωπίδες καὶ καλλιπέρηροι καὶ μελίφωνι Σαπφοῦς τοῦτο δῆ το ἥδυ πρόσφθεγμα

Aristaenetus 1 10 Προ τῆς παστάδος τοι υμέταιορ ἥδον αἱ μουσικωτεραι των παρθένων καὶ μελιχο φωνότεραι τοῦτο δῆ Σαφροῦς τὸ ηδιστοι φθέγμα

Besides μελιχόδφωνος (or μελίφωνος) and the two other epithets above we find attributed by Atil Fortunat. to Sappho πάρθενον ἀδύνφωνοι

For ἐλικωπ see 141, For βροδοπαχ 119 For μελίφωνοι cf Ox Pap 1786 6 and Anth. Pal x 66

Philostratus So vied with one another the maidens rosy armed bright-eyed fair-cheeked and honey voiced —this is Sappho's sweet appellation

Aristaenetus Before the bridal chamber was sung the wedding song by maidens that were the more musical and sweet voiced—this is Sappho's most sweet expression

A maiden sweet voiced

161

Edm, p 173

Demetrius, *Eloc* 132. *Εἰσὶν δὲ αἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι χάριτες, οἷον Νυμφαῖοι κῆποι, ὑμέναιοι, ἔρωτες, ὅλη ἡ Σαπφοῦς ποίησις*

Demetrius Charm of style may reside in the subject, as in the case of Gardens of the Nymphs, Wedding songs, love episodes—in fact, the whole fabric of Sappho's poetry

162

Bergk, 124, Edm 165

Demetrius, *Eloc* 166 *Διὸ καὶ -ή Σαπφὼ περὶ μὲν κάλλους φέρουσα καλλιεπής ἐστὶ καὶ ἡδεῖα καὶ περὶ ἔρωτων δὲ καὶ ἔαρος καὶ περὶ ἀλκυόνος, καὶ ἅπαν καλὸν ὄνομα ἐνύφανται αὐτῆς τῇ ποιήσει, τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν εἰργάσατο.*

Demetrius Therefore also Sappho, when she sings of beauty, uses words that are beautiful and sweet, and when she sings, too, of love and of spring and of the halcyon, and woven into the texture of her poetry is every beautiful word, and in some cases she has coined the word herself

EPIGRAMS ATTRIBUTED TO SAPPHO

163

Suidas s v *"Ἐγραψε δέ ἡ Σαπφὼ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα καὶ ἴαμβους καὶ μονωδίας*

Meleager, Anth Pal iv, Proem 3

*Πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπλέξας Ἀνύτης κρίνα, πολλὰ δὲ Μοιροῦς
Λείρια, καὶ Σαπφοῦς βαιά μὲν ἀλλὰ ρόδα*

Whether these three epigrams in the Anth Pal were from Meleager's *Wreath* we don't know. We may suppose everything of Sappho's would have been taken. But these are scarcely worthy of her and unlike her other work. See, however, Edm, *Proc Class Assoc*, 1921

EPIGRAMS

Sudas (*probably a later addition*) Sappho wrote epigrams and iambs and monodies (*her poems were mostly of this last character*)

Meleager Many a lily here of Anyte
 And many an amaryllis tall
 Is twined of Moero but Sappho of thee
 Few flowers yet they are roses all

Anth Pal vi 269 A note to the MS says not found in Michael's copy Bergk 118 Edm 143

Elegiacs App 33

Ως Σαπφοῦς

Παιδες αφωνος ἔσισα τόδ εινέπω αι τις ἔρηται
 φωναν ακαμπταν κατθεμένα πρὸ πόδων
 Αἴθοπλα με κόρα Λάτως αινθηκει Αρίστω
 Ερμοκλειδατα τῷ Σανταΐδα
 σὰ πρόπολος δέσποινα γυναικων δ σὺ χαρεσα
 πρόφρων αμετέραν εὐκλέσσοι γενέαν
 παις ετι d Orville τόδ MS τετ Paton τόρ
 Cf Pausan 1 29 22 see Bergk 170

Supposed to be Sappho's

Ye maids if any ask though dumb I say
 With this voice at my feet untired for aye
 Me did Aristo handmaid of thine own
 O Queen of women dedicate in stone
 Daughter of Hermocleides Sauneus son
 A gift to Artemis Aethopia
 The child of Leto Thou of thy good grace
 In gratitude grant honour to our race

The statue is supposed to speak in the inscription on its base

5 Really "Son of Sauniadas", itself a patronymic

164

Anth Pal vii, 489, Planud 229, Bergk, 119, Edm 144
Elegiacs, Aρφ 33^η

Σαπφοῦς εἰς Τιμάδα πρὸ γάμου τελευτήσασαν

*Τίμαδος ἄδε κόνις, τὰν δὴ πρὸ γάμοιο θάνοισαν
 δέξατο Φερσεφόνας κυάνεος θάλαμος,
 ἃς καὶ ἀποθυμένας πᾶσαι νεόθαγι σιδάρῳ
 ἄλικες ἵμέρταν κράτος ἔθεντο κόμαν*

Nothing is known of Timas as a friend of Sappho's, unless we follow Edmonds' emendation of Fragm 97, see *Proc Class Assoc*, 1921

Sappho's to Timas, who died before her marriage

This dust was Timas her, ere she was wed,
 Death welcomed to his darksome bridal bed,
 Her girl friends on her tomb in sadness laid
 Their new-shorn locks in honour of the maid

165

Anth Pal vii, 505, Planud 196, Bergk, 120, Edm 145
Elegiacs, Aρφ 33^η

Εἰς Πελάγωνα Σαπφοῦς

*Τῷ γρίπει Πελάγωνι πάτηρ ἐπέθηκε Μένισκος
 κύρτον καὶ κώπαν μνάμα κακοζοῖς*

No one can suppose that this is by Sappho

On Pelagon a Fisherman

To Pelagon, the fisher, on the shore

A tomb his sire Meniscus made,
 Set there his trawler's basket and his oar,
 To mark the hard toil of his trade

FRAGMENTS POSSIBLY FROM SAPPHO BUT NOT EXPLICITLY ATTRIBUTED TO HER

166

Bergk 24 Edm 49

Adonius App 16*Οὐτὶ μοι νῦνες*Homer *Il* i 335 see above 153

Not at all to me are you

167

Bergk *Adesp* 46 A*Trochaic App* 21*Ἐλμ ὡς απ νοσάκω λύθεισα*See Hoffm *Griech dialect* ii p 195

I will go as if released from a peg

168

Bergk *Adesp* 58*Logaoedic (or Choriambic) App* 21*αλλά τις αμμι δαίμων*

But to us some god

169

Bergk *Adesp* 77*Logaoedic**Γέλαν δ αθάνατοι θέοι*Cf Hom *Il* i 599

And the immortal Gods laughed

If by Sappho possibly in an account of the wedding of Heracles and Hebe cf 140 above

170

Bergk *Adesp* 60*Sapphic?*

x

Kai kat' iψήλων ὀρέων . . .
or *ὑψήλων*

And down from the high mountains . . .

171

Bergk, *Adesp* 68

Hexameter?

Παρὰ δέ σφι κόραι λευκάσπιδες . . .

Bergk suggests *ἄσφι* and thinks Amazons are meant.

And beside them the white-shielded maidens . . .

172

Bergk, *Adesp.* 75, *Aph* 24

Sapphic It seems to require a long syllable after *εὔπετες*

Πόθεν δέ τῶλκος εὔπετες ἔβλης ,

Cf Hom, *Il* v, 795, MS. δὲ ὀλκος.

Whence didst thou inflict the wound thus easily?

173

Bergk, *Adesp* 74

Alcaic?

Tuīδ' ὅν κολώναν . . .
Hither up the hill . . .

174

Bergk, *Adesp* 65. Lobel, p 73

κλαῖην δάκρυσι.

SPURIOUS POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO SAPPHO AND POEMS
ABOUT HER

- 1 Riddle and answer by Antiphanes
- 2 Skohon of Admetus
- 3 Poem by Anacreon
- 4 Supposed answer by Sappho
- 5 Sappho and Alcaeus by Hermesianax
- 6 Epigram by Nossis
- 7 Epigram by Dioscorides of Egypt.
- 8 Epigram by Tullius Laurea.
- 9 Epigram by Antipater of Thessalonica.
- 10 Anonymous on the 9 lyrists
- 11 Anonymous on the 9 lyrists
- 12 Anonymous To Sappho from the Muses

1

RIDDLE AND ANSWER ATTRIBUTED TO SAPPHO
Athenaeus x 451 From the *Sappho* of Antiphanes
(*circa* 365 B C)

Riddle

Εστι φύσις θήλεια βρέφη σωζοντα υπὸ κόλποις
αὐτῆς δύντα δ αφωνα βοήν ιστησι γεγωνόν
καὶ διὰ πόντιον ολόμα καὶ ἡπείρου διὰ πόσης
οἷς ἐθέλει θυητῶν τοῖς δ οὐ παρέοντιν ἀκούειν
εἴεστιν κωφὴν δ ακοῆς αισθησιν ἔχοντων

Cleobulina of Lindus who was almost as early as Sappho is said to have composed riddles

Riddle

There is a female thing that hides away
Her young within her womb where speechless they
Yet forth can send a sounding cry to fare
O'er swelling sea and all dry land where er
For men they will and any that stand near
Seem rather a faint sound to feel than hear

2

Answer

θήλεια μέν νύν ἔστι φύσις ἐπιστολή,
 βρέφη δ' ἐν αὐτῇ περιφέρει τὰ γράμματα
 ἄφωνα δ' ὅντα ταῦτα τοῖς πόρρω λαλεῖ,
 οἷς βούλετ' ἔτερος δ' ἄν τύχη τις πλησίον
 ἔστως ἀναγιγνώσκοντος οὐκ ἀκούσεται.

Answer

The female thing I spoke of must, we see,
 None other than a written message be
 The young within her womb the letters are ,
 Though speechless, yet they talk to those afar,
 Whom e'er they will , but others, e'en if near,
 The voice of him that reads them may not hear

3

Cf also Athen xv, 694 and 695 (*Three choriamb with basis*)

'Αδμήτου σκόλιον

Eustath , *Il* 11, p 247 · Παυσανίας φησὶν ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ λεξικῷ, ὡς οἱ μὲν Ἀλκαίου φασὶν αὐτὸς, οἱ δὲ Σαπφοῦς, οἱ δὲ Πραξίλλης τῆς Σικυωνίας Ἀρχὴ δὲ τοῦ μελοῦς αὕτη 'Αδμήτου λόγον, ὡς ταῦτε, μαθὼν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλει, τῶν δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχουν, γνοὺς ὅτι δειλοῖς ὀλίγα χάρις

Probably by Praxilla

The Admetus "Catch"

Eustathius Pausanias says in his Attic Lexicon, that some say it is by Alcaeus, others by Sappho, and others by Praxilla the Sicyonian The beginning of the song is as follows —

Learn of Admetus' fate to brave men ever cling,
 The craven shun, for small the pleasure that they
 bring

SAPPHO AND ANACREON

(Apocryphal Intercourse)

Athenaeus xii 599 C Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ περὶ Σαπφοῦς καὶ λόγειν τιάς φησι εἰς αυτὴν πεποιῆσθαι υπὸ Ανακρέοντος τάδε (viz Σφαίρη κτλ.) καὶ Σαπφα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ταῦτα φησιν εἰπειν (Κηρον κτλ.) Οὐτὶ δὲ οὐκ εστὶ Σαπφοῦς τούτο τὸ δόσμα παντὶ που δῆλον

Bergh. Anacr. 14

Σφαίρη δηῦτε με πορφυρέη
βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ερως
τήτη ποικιλοσαμβάλψ
συμπαλλέειν προκαλεῖται
ἢ δ ἔστιν γάρ ἀπὸ εὐκτίτου
Λεσβου τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην
λευκὴ γάρ καταμίμφεται
πρὸς δὲ ἄλλον τιὰ χάσκει

3 - πατέα.

Athenaeus Chamaeleon in his treatise about Sappho both asserts that according to some the following lines (Eros of the golden hair etc.) were composed by Anacreon to her and that Sappho also wrote these lines (O golden throned etc.) to him but it is obvious I take it to all that this poem is not by Sappho

By Anacreon

Eros of the golden hair
Strikes me with his purple ball
And to love's sweet play doth call
With a maid of sandal fair
But since age hath made me white
She in goodly Lesbos born
Thinking on my looks with scorn
Takes in younger pates delight

5

Supposed answer by Sappho

Bergk, 26

Κεῖνον, ὁ χρυσόθρονες Μοῦσ', ἔνισπες
ῦμνον, ἐκ τᾶς καλλιγύναικος ἔσθλας
Τήιος χώρας, ὃν ἄσιδε τερπνῶς
πρέσβυς ἀγανός

Supposed answer by Sappho

O golden-throned Muse,
Teach me that song to use,
That the old poet sung,
A bard of glorious tongue,
From Teos' noble strand,
Of all fair maids the land

6

From Hermesianax in his Elegiacs 290 B.C., Edm.,
p. 144

Athen 599 C. ἐν τούτοις ὁ Ἐρμησιάνας σφάλλεται
συγχρονεῦν οἰόμενος Σαπφὼ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα

Λέσβιος Ἀλκαῖος δὲ πόσους ἀνεδέξατο κώμους,
Σαπφοῦς φορμίζων ἴμερόντα πόθον,
γινώσκεις δ' ἀοιδὸς ἀηδόνος ἡράσαθ' ὕμνων
Τήιον ἀλγύνων ἄνδρα πολυφραδίη
καὶ γὰρ τὴν δ' μελιχρὸς ἐφωμίλησ' Ἀνακρείων
στελλομένην πολλαῖς ἄμμιγα Λεσβιάσι
φοίτᾳ δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν λείπων Σάμον, ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτὴν
οἰνήρην ὅρεσιν κεκλιμένην πατρίδα,
Λέσβον ἐσ εὖοινον

Cf Plut, *Symp* vii, 8, 2 (MS.)

Athenaeus In these verses (Pieces 5 and 6) Hermesianax is mistaken in thinking that Sappho and Anacreon were contemporaries

How many a lay Alcaeus wrought needs not to tell
 In passionate love of Sappho on the lyre
 For that sweet nightingale of hymns he loved so well
 That his much praising roused the Teian sire.
 Since he too sought her honey tongued Anacreon,
 When in her glory mid the Lesbian maids she played
 While from the sloping hills of viny Teos gone
 Or Samos he to wine-rich Lesbos strayed

EPIGRAMS RELATING TO SAPPHO

7

Anth. Pal. vii 718

By Nossis (circa 300 B.C.)

Ὦ ξεῖν εἰ τὸ γε πλεῖς ποτὶ καλλίχορον Μυτιλήναν
 ταν Σαπφω Χαρίτων αρβος ἐναυσαμέναν
 εἶπεν ως Μούσαιοι φίλαν τῆν τε Λοκρίς γα
 τίκτεν θαυ όπι θ' οι τουρομα Νόσσις οθι

Nossis to Sappho

Friend if to Mitylene lies thy way
 The isle of lovely dances that did rear
 Sappho the flower of all the Graces say
 That one the Locrian land can show
 As dear to all the Muses and her peer
 And that her name is Nossis—Go!

8

Anth. Pal. vii 407

By Dioscorides of Egypt (circa 180 B.C.)

Ἡδιστορ φιλόμοιο νέοις προσανάκλιμι δρωταν
 Σαπφω σὺν Μούσαις ἡ ρά σε Πιερη
 ἡ Ελικων ευκινσσος θα πνεονονταν ἐκενταις
 κοσμει τὴν Ερέσφ Μούσαν ἐν Αιολίδι

5 ή καὶ 'Υμὴν 'Υμέναιος ἔχων εὐφεγγέα πεύκην
 σὺν σοὶ νυμφιδίων ἵσταθ' ὑπὲρ θαλάμων
 ή Κινύρεω νέον ἔρνος ὀδυρομένη Ἀφροδίτη
 σύνθρηνος, μακάρων ἵερὸν ἄλσος ὅρῆς
 πάντη, πότνια, χαῖρε θεοῖς ἵσα· σᾶς γὰρ ἀοιδάς
 10 ἀθανάτων ἄγομεν νῦν ἔτι θυγατέρας

7 i.e. Adonis

9 θεοῖς ἵσα Cf. Sappho, 141

To Sappho

Thou of Aeolian Eresus the Muse,
 Sweet pillow for all youthful loves to use,
 Sappho, with whom each Muse her honour shares
 On Helicon, for thine is breath like theirs,—
 Either with thee, his lifted torch in hand
 Hymen beside the nuptial couch doth stand,
 Or Cinyras' son thou mournest, Cypris' love,
 Looking upon the Blest One's holy Grove
 Hail, Queen, as gods are hailed, or near or far,
 For daughters of the gods thy songs still are

2 i.e. the book of her poems cf. *The Return from Parnassus*, iii, 1, 63

9

Anth Pal vii, 17, Edm, p 166

By Tullius Laurea (circa 60 B.C.)

Αἰολικὸν παρὰ τύμβον ἴών, ξένε, μή με θανοῦσαν
 τὰν Μυτιληναίαν ἐννεπ' ἀοιδοπόλον
 τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἔκαμον χέρες ἔργα δὲ φωτῶν
 ἐς ταχινὴν ἔρρει τοιάδε ληθεδόνα
 5 ἦν δέ με Μουσάων ἐτάσσης χάριν, ὃν ἀφ' ἐκάστης
 δαιμονος ἄνθος ἐμῇ θῆκα παρ' ἐνεάδι,
 ννώσεαι ως Ἀΐδεω σκότον ἔκφυγον, οὐδέ τις ἔσται
 τῆς λυρικῆς Σαπφοῦς νώνυμος ἡέλιος

By Tullus Laurea

Stranger that passest by my Lesbian tomb
 Say not that Mitylene's bard is dead
 'Twas by men's hands upraised but by one doom
 Such works to swift forgetfulness are sped
 If for the Muses' sake thou ask—from whom
 A flower of each in my nine books I set—
 Know that escaped from Death's devouring gloom
 No sun shall lyric Sappho's name forget

10

Anth. Pal. ix 26

By Antipater of Thessalonica (circa 10 B.C.)

Τάσδε θεογλωσσούς Ελικων ἔθρεψε γυναικας
 νυμοις και Μακεδων Πιεριας σκόπελος
 Πρήξιλλαν Μοιρω Ανυτης στόμα θῆλυν Ομηρον
 Λεσβιαδων Σαπφω κρομον θύπλοκάμαν
 5 Ηραναν Τελέσιλλαν αγακλέα και σε Κόρινα
 θοιρω Αθηναιης ἀσπίδα μελφαμένων
 Νοοσίδα θηλυγλωσσον ιδε γλυκυναχέα Μύρτω
 πάσας αενάων ἐργάτιδας σελίδων
 έντα μὲν Μούρος μέγας Ουρανός έντα δ αυτός
 10 Γαῖα τέκεν θνατοις ἀφίειτον εὐφροσύναν

ἢ θηλ. Ομ. usually taken as descriptive of Anyte, as its position should make it, but does it not refer to Σερφα? Cf. above Anth. Pal. vii, 15. Besides the words go much better in apposition to Σερφα than to στόρα.

By Antipater

Lo these are the women of god like tongue
 Whom Helicon fed with Pierian song
 Praxilla and Moero and Anyté famed
 And as Homer of women for aye to be named
 Thou Sappho the glory beyond compare
 Of Lesbian women with lovely hair

Telesilla, Erinna, Korinna renowned,
 With whose praises Athena's stout shield doth resound
 And Nossis soft-voicèd and Myrtis sweet-toned,
 Whose pages shall never by Time be disowned
 From great Heaven nine Muses, these nine too from
 Earth,
 As a deathless delight unto men, had their birth

11

Anth Pal ix, 184

Anonimous

*Πίνδαρε, Μουσάων ἱερὸν στόμα, καὶ λάλε Σειρήν,
 Βακχυλίδη, Σαπφοῦς τ' Αἰολίδες χάριτες,
 γράμμα τ' Ἀνακρείοντος, 'Ομηρικὸν ὅς τ' ἀπὸ ρεῦμα
 ἔσπασας οἰκείοις, Στησίχορ', ἐν καμάτοις,
 ἦ τε Σιμωνίδεω γλυκερὴ σέλις, ἥδυ τε Πειθοῦς,
 "Ιβυκε, καὶ παίδων ἄνθος ἀμησάμενε,
 καὶ ξίφος Ἀλκαίοιο, τὸ πολλάκις αἷμα τυράννων
 ἔσπεισεν, πάτρης θέσμια ρύσμενον,
 θηλυμελεῖς τ' Ἀλκμάνος ἀηδόνες, ἵλατε πάσης
 ἀρχὴν οἱ λυρικῆς καὶ πέρας ἐστάσατε.*

Anonimous

The Nine Lyrists

Pindar, the sacred mouth of the Muses, and thou fluent
 siren,
 Bacchylides, Sappho's lovely Aeolian charm,
 Master-hand of Anacreion, and thou, that didst borrow
 Water from Homer's stream, Stesichorus, for thy mill,
 Simonides' sweet page, and Ibucus, thou who didst gather
 Honeyed Persuasion's bloom, bloom too of boys and
 their love,

Patriot sword of Alcaeus that didst so oft against tyrants
 Champion his country's laws bathing thy edge in their
 blood

Thy nightingales too O Alcaean with voices soft as a
 maiden's

Look ye with grace upon me authors and enders of
 song

12

Scholiast on the *Vita Pindari*

Anonymous

Eἰς τοὺς ἑπτὰ Λυρικούς

Ἐνέα τῶν πρωτῶν λυρικῶν πάτρην γενέην τε
 μάνθανε καὶ πατέρας καὶ διδάκτον αθρεῖ
 ὃν Μυτιληναῖος μὲν εἶη γεραρωτερος ἀλλαν
 Αλκαῖος πρότερος ἡχικὸς Αἰολίδος
 η δὲπὶ τῷ ξυνήν πατρην φωνήν τε δαεισα
 Σαπφω Κλήδος καὶ πατρὸς Εὐρυγνουν

On the Nine Lyrists

The nine first lyrists race and country learn
 Their native speech and parentage discern
 Of Mitylene earliest of the throng
 Alcaeus herald of Aeolian song
 And she who shared his fatherland and tongue
 Sappho of Cleis and Eurygyrus sprung

13

Anth Pal ix 521

Anonymous

Eἰς Σαπφω παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν

Οὐκ αρα τούς γε ὀλίζον ἐπὶ κλέος ωπασι Μοιρα
 ἡματι τῷ πρωτῷ φῶς Ἰδες δελλου

Σαπφοῖ σοὶ γὰρ ρῆσιν ἐνεύσαμεν ἄφθιτον εἶμεν,
 σὺν δὲ πατὴρ πάντων νεῦσεν ἐρισφάραγος
 μέλψῃ δ' ἐν πάντεσσιν ἀοίδιμος ἀμερίοισιν,
 οὐδὲ κλυτᾶς φάμας ἔσσεαι ἡπεδανά

To Sappho, from the Muses

No little glory Fate apportioned thee,
 When first thou lookedst on the light of day,
 Sappho, we promised that thy songs should never die,
 And the great sire in thunder answered "Aye"
 All mortal men in song shall hail thy name,
 And endless be thy honour and thy fame



A BRONZE
In the British Museum



A BROKEN SARD
In the British Museum (No. 556)

OIDVS EPISTLE OF SAPPHO TO PHAON

Heroides IV

In spite of de Vries and Iuñik and other defenders the authenticity of this Epistle remains doubtful. It is certainly in Ovid's style but scarcely a favourable specimen of it and reads perhaps more like a clever imitation. We know from an allusion elsewhere in Ovid¹ that he did write an Epistle of Sappho to Phion and that Sabinus a friend of his wrote a supposed answer from Phaon. But both external and internal evidences are very strong against this Epistle that we have being the one which Ovid wrote. It does not appear in the best and earliest MSS of Ovid or in Planudes' translation. When found it is generally separate from other Ovidian writings and never placed with the *Heroides* the latter perhaps naturally as Sappho is not a legendary heroine. One MS says that it was translated from the Greek a statement evidently based on line 5². If there is any truth in the idea the Greek source would be Callimachus in his *Aitia* to which Birt traces the Naiad the leap from the rock and the lyre dedicated to Apollo. The form *Anactorie* betrays a poetical source.

The internal evidence is no less unfavourable. There are serious difficulties in respect of metre grammar vocabulary allusions and style. We find words not used elsewhere in Ovid words employed in an unusual sense allusions such as that to the witch Erichtho³ which belongs to the Neronian age and phrases like *se dolor*

¹ *Amet* II, 18.

Rhein. Mus. xxxii 399

² This is now rejected for Emyo.

invenit (113), which also savour of Nero's time, grammar and scansion almost impossible to Ovid, absurdities like the story of Deucalion attempting the Lover's Leap, and Sappho telling Phaon of all the girls she had loved. The accumulative effect of all these banal and un-Ovidian traits is very great, and it is impossible to feel any confidence in the Ovidian authorship of the Epistle.

The author, whoever he was, knew something about the facts of Sappho's life, for instance, what he says about Charaxus, the brother of Sappho, is partly corroborated by Herodotus. He tells us a fact not mentioned elsewhere, that Sappho lost her father (*parens*) when she was six. The details of her appearance were taken probably from Chamaeleon, from whom possibly Maximus Tyrius also took his statement on the subject.

Besides Chamaeleon, this writer is the only one who seems to take for granted that Sappho was guilty of perverted affection for her girl friends or pupils. He may have drawn from Chamaeleon or more directly from the comic writers. But there is no real evidence that the latter depicted Sappho as worse than a courtezan and a lover of Phaon. There is no sign in the whole Epistle of any acquaintance with Sappho's own writings, as far as the fragments we have of her are concerned, except perhaps in line 18 with reference to Atthis. Lunák's treatise on this point is a piece of special pleading and most inconclusive.

A careful study of the whole poem impresses us more and more with its fictitious nature. But it is chiefly owing to this reputed work of Ovid's, and two or three allusions elsewhere, that Sappho's reputation has suffered so much in later days. Yet the justifiable doubt as to its authorship and its vapid and superficial character deprive it of any right to be taken seriously as evidence for Sappho's

life and character. It is certain however that Ovid himself must have had Sappho's writings in his library though he does not seem to have borrowed from them as Catullus did. If we had more of Sappho's work possibly we should modify this judgment.

Sappho to Phaon

Say when your eyes upon my letter fall
 Does it the writer to your mind recall ?
 Or did you not thereon read Sappho's name
 Could you not guess whence that short missive came ?

5 But why these elegiacs I have sent
 Fain would you ask though lyrics are my bent
 Sad is my love and elegies sad songs
 But to my lyre no tearful theme belongs
 I burn as when by east winds fiercely driven

10 Through the rich cornfield flares the fire to heaven
 The fields of Etna Phaon treads apart
 A fire no less than Etna's sears my heart
 My strings are tuned but no song comes to me
 A mind that speaks in song is fancy free

15 The maids of Pyrrha and Methymna's shore
 And all the Lesbian girlhood charm no more
 Nought Anactoria Cydro nought I prize
 / No more is Atthis gracious in my eyes.
 A hundred more I loved that were my blame

20 Shameless what many shared you selfish claim !
 You beauty have you youth for dalliance meet
 Snare set to catch my eyes O beauty sweet !
 Take bow and lyre as Phoebus you shall show
 Bind horns upon your brow and Bacchus go !

25 One for Crete's maid for Daphné one did long
 But she nor she knew aught of lyric song

The Muses gave me sweetest songs to sing,
And through the wide world now my fame doth ring
Alcaeus claims (our land, our lyre the same)

30 Though grander notes he strike, no higher fame
My wit that want of beauty has supplied
Which niggard nature to my form denied
Small am I, but a name for earth and sea
Too large is mine *that* shall my measure be

35 If dark my hue, yet was Andromeda fair
In Perseus' eyes, though dark her mien and hair
So white doves oft with varied mates are seen
And oft black turtles mated are with green
If but your peer alone can please your mind,

40 Then you no mate, then you no mate shall find
But, when you read me, then I seemed still fair,
That I alone should speak, you used to swear
I sang, I well remember—lovers do—
Kisses you took and gave me singing, too

45 This won your praise, in every part I pleased,
And chiefly then, when Love his longing eased
Then was my sportiveness your rare delight,
And dear my mirth and quickness in your sight
How sweet, when our twin joys had had their fill,

50 To lie in dreamy languor tired and still !
Sicilian girls, new booty, round you throng,
Lesbos avaunt ! To Sicily I belong
But send him back, who thus has truant played,
Megarian mother and Megarian maid

55 Be not deceived by flattery's lying word ,
He says to you what my ears too have heard
O Thou, who Eryx for thy home hast made,
I am thy mouthpiece Queen, be thou my aid !
Or does stern Fortune, to her purpose true,

60 The cruel tenour of her way pursue ?

Six winters old was I when ere his years
 The ashes of a parent drank my tears
 My brother for a harlot's love afame
 A wastrel ¹ mingled loss with his foul shame.

65 Impov'risht with swift oars he roves the main
 And wealth ill lost he seeks as ill to gain.
 Me too he hateth for the truths he learned
 Such meed my conscience and my free-speech earned
 In case my ills should cease that endless were

70 My little daughter brings me care on care
 Thou comest last of all to crown my woes
 Against the wind my labouring vessel goes
 Lo on my neck dishevelled falls the hair
 No sparkling jewels on my hand I wear

75 Mean is my dress no gold gleams on my head
 Nor Araby's sweet dews their fragrance shed
 Whom should I strive to dress for whom to please?
 My love's own idol dwells beyond the seas
 Soft is my heart that every dart can slay

80 And cause for aye is there to love for aye
 Whether at birth the sisters span it so
 That no harsh threads should through my fabric go
 Or moulded by the influence of my art,
 Thalia's teaching softens all my heart

85 What wonder then that I was led astray
 By youth's smooth cheeks and love's triumphant
 day?
 I feared thou Dawn wouldst take him for thine own
 Twere done did Cephalus not hold his throne
 Look but on him who look st on all O Moon

90 And Phaon thou wilt bid not wake too soon.
 Venus had rapt him in her car on high
 But feared her Mars too mighty his beauty eye

¹ Reading *iswors* for *iswops*.

Sweet years ! O not-yet-youth, no-more-a-boy,
Of all your age the jewel and the joy !

95 O fairest, come, sink back into my bay .
" Love not , let me but love," is all I pray
Now, as I write, my swelling tears o'erflow .
See here how many a smear this page can show !
If go you must, why not with gentler eye,

100 And saying merely, " Lesbian maid, good-bye ! " "
My tears and my last kiss you did disdain ,
I knew not then how deep my future pain
Nothing I have of you, but shame and ill ,
You nought that tells of me, your lover still

105 No task I set you and no task can set,
Save this, that you shall not my love forget
By Love (ne'er can He from your side depart !),
By the Nine Muses, dearest to my heart,
When one but told me all my joys were fled,

110 I swear, not long I wept, nor word I said,
Mine eyes no tears could give, my tongue no sound
And all my breast with icy frost was bound
When sorrow found her voice, I beat my breast,
And tore my hair, and wailed with grief opprest,

115 As when a mother to the pyre up-piled
Attends the lifeless body of her child
Charaxus laughs and battens on my woe,
My brother he, and passes to and fro ,
Making more shameful my griefs' cause, he cried

120 " Why grieves she thus ? Her daughter has not
died "
How little love and shame can e'er agree !
My mangled breast lay bare for all to see
Phaon my thoughts possess, my dreams portray,
Dreams brighter than the glory of the day

125 In these I find you, though afar you live,

But short too short the joys that sleep can give
 Oft on your arms I seem my head to rest
 And oft lay yours upon my tender breast.
 Sometimes to coaxing words so real I take
 130 My lips and all my senses are awake
 I taste your kisses tongue to tongue again
 Kisses so given once and once so taken.
 I blush to tell what follows—love's full rites
 How sweet! Without you love hath no delights.
 135 But when day shows herself and all beside
 I murmur that my dreams so soon have died
 To cave and wood I go as though in these
 Were healing they saw all that most did please.
 Frenzied as if by wild Enyo led
 140 With hair dishevelled to those scenes I fled.
 The caves o'erhung with rough sandstone I see
 That erst of choicest marble seemed to be.
 The grove I find where oft our couch was spread
 And leafy boughs o'ercanopied our bed
 145 But find not that wood's master and my own
 Barren the spot now he its wealth alone
 I saw the sward our limbs had pressed so late
 And the soft grass still hollowed with our weight
 I lay and touched the spot where you had lain
 150 The grass once dear now drank my eyes salt rain
 The boughs too seem with drooping leaves to sigh
 And birds no more sing sweet laments thereby
 Sad Philomel alone doth there complain.
 For not her husband but her Itys slain
 155 She Itys sings Sappho her lonely love
 Till midnight hushes all the silent grove.
 Here wells a sacred spring more bright and fair
 Than crystal streams some deem a god dwells there

Above, a branching lotus spreads a screen,
 160 Itself a grove, and round it all is green
 Here, when I laid my woe-worn limbs to rest,
 A Naiad stood before my eyes confess,
 And said " Since thou the fire of love no more
 Canst bear, betake thee to Ambracia's shore
 165 There Phoebus scans the wide sea from his shrine,
 Of Actium and Leucadia King divine
 From here Deucalion, Pyrrha's love to gain,
 Leapt down himself, unhurt, into the main
 And straight Love turned and touched soft Pyrrha's
 heart,
 170 And freed Deucalion's bosom from the smart
 This custom holds · seek thou Leucadia's steep,
 And fear not boldly from the rock to leap "
 She spake , and voice and she are gone I rise
 And the full tear-drops trickle from my eyes
 175 I go, O Nymph, to the appointed shore ,
 By frantic love possest, I'll fear no more
 Whate'er my fate, 'twere better so Come, breeze,
 So light a body thou shalt bear with ease
 Let thy wings too, soft Love, my limbs sustain,
 180 Nor by my death Leucadia's waters stain
 My lyre, joint pride, on Phoebus I'll bestow,
 And this short couplet shall be carved below
 " To thee by Sappho dedicated be
 This lyre, as fitting her, as fitting thee "
 185 Yet why send me, poor wretch, to Actium's shore,
 When you could your own truant self restore,
 Abler to heal than all Leucadia's wave,
 As fair a Phoebus and a friend as brave ?
 Or can you, harder than the rocks and seas,
 190 A glorious title take from my decease ?



SAPPHO IN REVERIE
(From terracotta relief at Rose)

How better far my breast to yours were prest
 Than I cast headlong from Leucate's crest !
 That breast that Phaon once your praise inspired
 That seemed to you so oft with genius fired
 195 Would I could sing but grief has killed my heart
 And ills destroyed my genius and my art
 No more my songs display their ancient skill
 And grief my lyre has hushed its strings are still
 O Lesbian maids unwed O Lesbian dames
 200 Dear to Aeolian song your Lesbian names
 Lesbians whose love ill fame to me did bring
 No longer gather round to hear me sing
 With Phaon fled all that you deemed divine—
 Ah me how near I called him Phaon mine !
 205 Bring him but back my songs I'll sing once more
 He makes my genius droop he makes it soar
 Are prayers of use ? Do they his rude heart
 sway ?
 Or is *that* hard and winds bear *those* away ?
 Let those that take my words bring back your
 soul
 210 That was your task if you but knew O Snail
 But votive gifts aboard if now you start
 For home why with delays torment my heart ?
 Launch forth ! a smooth sea and a favouring gale
 Venus sea born to lovers sends set sail !
 215 Cupid will from the stern your vessel steer,
 His own soft hands control the sail and gear
 But if you will from Lesbian Sappho fly
 (No worthy reason can you give me why)
 Yet bid me wretched in one line of hate
 220 Go to Leucadia's waves and tempt my fate

THE RHYTHMS AND METRES OF SAPPHO

§ 1 Sappho was an accomplished musician and dancer as well as a supreme poet, and her pre-eminence in poetry was no doubt largely due to her mastery of the two sister arts¹ The link between these three, dancing, music, and poetry (and the greatest of these is poetry), is to be found in rhythm, which is time measured by some kind of movement Steps, when subjected to rhythmical movement, become a dance , speech becomes poetry when its accented and unaccented syllables are regulated by rhythmical order Poetical ideas, even when expressed in poetical words, are not enough of themselves to constitute poetry , they require a certain ordered rhythm But the Greeks made music the handmaid of poetry Thus music in early times had no existence entirely independent of poetry, as our highest music can have It was bound in a close union with poetry, the words of which could not express their full emotional meaning without the music, and in some cases without the motions and gestures of the dance With us it is not so A Schumann or a Schubert may marry his airs to the verse which he is setting to music, but in most instances the poet and musician function apart, and the music overrides the words (which are used only as a vehicle for its expression) and does not merely interpret them Tennyson was not musical in the technical sense, but his verse was often eminently so On the other hand Browning was a good musician, while much of his poetry is harsh and untunable

¹ Dance was to the sung lyric as gesticulation to the orator, but a more refined and subtle adjunct

§ 2 Unfortunately our knowledge of Greek music is still far from complete. Despite the right happy labours during the past fifty years of Westphal Schmidt Christ Abdy Williams¹ and others which have thrown an unexpected and welcome light on this subject we are not yet in a position to appreciate to the full the part played by music in the poems of Sappho. It is known that the Greeks developed rhythm in some directions further than moderns for not having any real knowledge of harmony or counterpoint (an English discovery by the way) they were obliged to get the utmost that they could from the means at their disposal. To give one example we do not employ quintuple measures such as cretics (— — —) to anything like the extent that the Greeks did. They were evidently able to appreciate that particular rhythm much more easily and fully than we in spite of its use in our folk-songs such as Barbara Allen.

§ 3 Dracon of Stratoniceia wrote a treatise on the metres of Sappho which has unfortunately not come down to us. As it is in dealing with Sappho's rhythms and metres we are not only handicapped at the start by our general ignorance of Greek music but we are further at a loss in divining the correct metre and consequent rhythm of many of Sappho's lyrics owing to their mutilated condition. Modern metrists moreover differ considerably from the conclusions of the ancient writers on classical metres such as Hephaestion² though these had the complete works of Sappho before them and knew how they were sung. The technical terms which they used in discussing the subject have been inherited by us but they form a jargon somewhat repellent to the ordinary

¹ *The Aristoxenian Theory of Music* and other works. For a useful Bibliography see Weir Smyth *Greek Melic Poets* p. cxl.

² About A.D. 170.

reader Unfortunately a convincing treatment of the whole question requires a thorough knowledge of music, such as comparatively few people possess, combined with an intimate acquaintance with classical models, which is still less common

§ 4 Greek music was divided into several *áρμονίαι*, or "modes", which varied in pitch and character, and were associated with different emotional effects But these effects must in reality have been due far more to the *tempo*, in which the melody was sung, and the variations of rhythm introduced Sappho's favourite modes were the Aeolian and Lydian, which from their varied and tender character were especially suited to the logaoedic rhythms in which she delighted Terpander, Sappho's fellow-countryman, had introduced the former mode, which was particularly adapted for the lyre Pratinas,¹ a contemporary of Aeschylus in the fifth century, advises his hearers to eschew the higher and lower-pitched melodies and, ploughing the middle furrow, to *αἰολίζειν τῷ μέλει* Sappho is credited by some with having invented, or introduced from Lydia, the pectis,² a kind of harp, with somewhat shrill notes, and also made use of a new "mode", the Mixolydian,³ which perhaps did not differ much from the plaintive and high-pitched (*querulus*) Lydian mode This went well with the youthful voices that accompanied the songs of Sappho It is possible that Sappho was almost as great an inventor and artist in music as in poetry, but our evidence will not take us further than the assurance that she was at all events a thoroughly competent musician Like most great poets she invented new metres to supply her needs, and

¹ Athen xii, 624

² Athen xiv, 635 E

³ Plutarch, *Mus* 6

her favourite Sapphic stanza (whether invented by her or not) still goes by her name. Her usual instrument was the tortoise-shell lyre called by herself *chelys*¹. The kithara was a stronger instrument in a squarer frame more suitable for public playing. The lyre is sometimes represented with four and sometimes with seven (or more) strings.

§ 5 In dealing with Sappho's musical rhythms and quantitative metres we must at the outset realize that the musical *ictus* or beat has nothing to do with the accent on a word. Each syllable is a note or tone and the quantity of the syllable depends on the duration of the note upon it, the intonation, on the intensity of the tone and the accent on its elevation. In English we have no real *metre* but only rhythm which follows the accent. Taking the short syllable or quaver as the unit of time the ancient metricalians mostly counted every long syllable as equivalent to two short ones. But in musical rhythms as applied to poetry a long syllable may be made short or a short syllable long according as the voice dwells upon it or slurs it. The last syllable in a line whatever its quantity can be counted long or short.

§ 6 Before we proceed to classify the metres and rhythms used by Sappho it will be necessary to explain some of the more technical terms used in this connexion. The syllable which bears the ictus or stress (sometimes represented by an acute accent or a dot if a secondary ictus is marked, the sign on the primary one being doubled) is called the *thesis* and the unstressed syllable the *arsis* which words mean the down setting and the up-lifting

¹ Fragm. 2, or *chelynna* 41. Cf. also Ovid *Heroid* xv 181. Sappho also mentions the *barbitos* or *serbitos* (see 'Vocab' and Ovid *Heroid* xv 8) and the *βάρπος* or *βάρψωρ* (Athen. iv 187).

of the foot in marching¹ Sometimes, a whole dipody, or double foot, can be in thesis and a second dipody in arsis The term *anacrusis* is applied to a preliminary note or notes, forming a sort of signal-beat, or "strike-up" to the rhythm that follows, but not belonging to it Anacrusis is used with the limitation that it must never be greater or less in time than the arsis of the following metre, for, example, a dactylic metre must not have an anacrusis of a time value longer than two quavers When this rule is apparently violated, this is due to the admission of an *irrational* syllable, which though long in metre can be, musically, sung short² This term is also applied to a long syllable in the second, i.e. the unemphasized, foot of a dipody, where a short would have been expected This weakening of the second dipody is due to the fact that the thesis is on the first dipody But the liberty is not very often taken, and, if taken, then probably with an intentional effect upon the rhythm Lines with anacrusis start off with more energy and impetus than those that are without it So the Alcaic is a stronger and brisker measure than the Sapphic

§ 7 Not only can a long syllable be slurred over so as to be shortened, but it can be dwelt on so as to have the value of a trochee (— ~), when it is written L , or of two longs, when it is written — At the end of a line the last syllable can be lengthened by the musical rest, so that a long syllable has the value of a trochee (— ~), when it is marked $\text{—} \wedge$,³ or of a spondee $\overline{\text{A}}$, or of a quaver more \wedge , or a crochet more $\overline{\text{A}}$

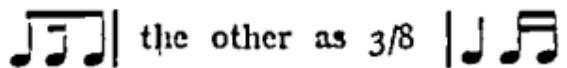
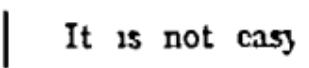
¹ Or the downward beat of the baton and its raising again for the next beat Unfortunately later grammarians chose to reverse the terms, a bad example followed by many moderns This often further perplexes a perplexing subject

² It is often marked < to show this

³ This sign stands for \wedge the first letter of $\lambda\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha$

Besides the anacrusis some metres have a preliminary foot called the *basis* which does not like the anacrusis stand outside the metre but forms a sort of introduction to it. It may be represented by — — or — — — or — — — or even by — — when it is indistinguishable from the anacrusis if we have only one line to judge by

§ 8 When as in logaoedic¹ rhythms dactyls are interspersed among trochees in order to get the necessary musical symmetry between the bars the dactyls have to be sung in the same time as the trochees. Such dactyls are either called *cyclic* dactyls² and are musically represented by a dotted quaver a semi-quaver and a quaver both the first and second syllables losing some of their time value or are termed *choreic* dactyls expressed in musical notation by a crotchet and two semi-quavers where the second and third syllables of the dactyl are shortened from one-eighth notes to one-sixteenth notes. These two forms of dactyl may be written one as 3/8

 the other as 3/8  It is not easy to distinguish between the usage of these allied forms. The difference is really one of ictus³. Dactyls in a passage of three-eighths time (i.e. when the foot is equivalent to — — —) must be treated as choreic rather than cyclic when there is a succession of them and they are not in close alternation with trochees.

§ 9 There are more than thirty five different measures found in our extant remains of Sappho⁴. Her favourite form was the logaoedic of which the Sapphic stanza

¹ From λόγος speech and δόξα song as partaking of the character of both

² The first foot in Little Bo Peep has lost her sheep is a cyclic dactyl

³ See Schmidt, *Rhythmic and Metric* (Engl. Transl.) p 50. Farnell *Greek Lyric Poetry* p 63. The latter only gives the choreic dactyl in Fragment 125 (not in 18). Recent criticism tends to reject cyclic dactyls.

⁴ I cannot identify the fifty mentioned by Professor Gilbert Murray

is an example. Its varied and lively character made it especially suitable for expressing rapid changes of thought and feeling in an easy and flowing rhythm, akin to those of folk-song and dance. The basic foot of logaoedics is the trochee, with which the dactyl is mingled not at haphazard, but so as to subserve the thought and feeling of the poem. It is a measure perfectly familiar to us not only in our nursery songs, but also in the highest forms of poetry, which aim at the most musical and imaginative effects.

§ 10 Take for instance "Old King Cole", a favourite of our childhood —

Old King Cole was a merry old soul
 And a merry old soul was he,
 He called for his pipe, and he called for his bowl,
 And he called for his fiddlers three
 Every fiddler, he had a fiddle,
 And a very fine fiddle had he

And as an instructive contrast let us set down the exquisite verses chosen for the first poetry recitation competition at Oxford,¹ the charm of which, as recited by successful girl voices made a marked impression on the hearers. They are part of a poem to Night by Shelley, that master of verbal music² —

Swiftly walk over the western wave,
 Spirit of night!
 Out of the misty eastern cave,
 Where all the long and lone daylight
 Thou west dreams of joy and fear,
 Which make thee terrible and dear,
 Swift be thy flight!

¹ Also quoted by Professor Farnell for the same purpose of illustration as here, p. 48

² Though not himself "musical", see above, § 1

Wrap thy form in a mantle grey
 Star inwrought!
 Blind with thine hair the eyes of day
 Kiss her until she be wearied out
 Then wander o'er city and sea and land
 Touching all with thine opiate wand—
 Come long sought!

§ 11 These passages illustrate many of the rhythmical features of Greek lyric. They are both composed of trochees and dactyls irregularly placed. The former is in tetrameter lines¹ alternating with trimeters, the latter in tetrameters with a dimeter after the first and last line in each stanza. As the leading lines in both pieces are tetrameters consisting of four equal feet the ultimate monosyllables *soul*² *trare* etc. must represent in the matter of time a double syllable. What is wanting in the verbal metre is made up by the musical rest at the end of the line which allows the sound to be prolonged so as to correspond with the metre of the other feet making the long syllable equal to — —³. Such a line is called by the grammarians *catalectic* or incomplete. The first line of *Old King Cole* would have been catalectic or complete if it had run —

Old King Cole was a merry old monarch

but how flat and feeble would such a conclusion have been! To avoid this we should have been obliged perforce to make *monarch* two feet the first syllable being what is called syncopated and marked rhythmically as L (— — —)

¹ Catalectic or incomplete

² It is possible however in this case to take the anacrusis of the following line to complete the time of this word

³ See § 7

and the second again made equivalent by the rest to a trochee (— ^), thus restoring the catalectic form

The syllables which stand outside the rhythm and are marked here by —, form the anacrusis spoken of above. It would be possible, in some cases,¹ to scan each couplet as forming one rhythm and so dispense with the services of the musical rest. In Shelley's lines the unaccented syllables are more detached from the rhythm than in the nursery ditty

§ 12 We meet here with the irrational feet which we have described above, for instance, *walk* must be for rhythmic purposes pronounced short and counted in music as a quaver. We have already spoken of the procrustean powers of music in making syllables conform to the prevailing rhythm

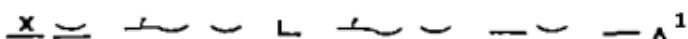
§ 13 From what has been already said, it is clear that metrical scansion and musical rhythm are quite different things. For instance, the metre may be choriambic, that is, formed of feet composed of trochee and iambus back to back (— — —), but the musical rhythm cannot easily assimilate such a combination. It has to divide the foot into a dactyl and one long syllable, slurring the dactyl to make it equivalent to a trochee in time, and lengthening the long syllable so that it too has the same time of a crotchet and a quaver. This is effected by musical *τονή*

§ 14 Great uncertainty attends the exact scansion of many lyrical metres. For instance, the first Ode of Horace² may be scanned in several ways. The second

¹ See an interesting article on the *Rationale of Verse*, by E. A. Poe, who treats in this way Byron's musical poem, "The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold." Cf. also Scott's "There is mist on the mountain" (Flora MacIvor's song).

² In what is called the Lesser Asclepiad metre. Cf. *Fragments* 44, 61.

foot may be a dactyl followed by a single long syllable or the four syllables together may form a choriambus (— — — —) to be followed either by two dactyls (the last syllable of a line being metrically common) or by another choriambus and iambus or by a dactyl a trochee, and a long syllable. But rhythmically the measure is logaoedic and runs —



Here the basis is followed by a cyclic dactyl and that by a syncopated long syllable raised to the time value of three quavers the last long syllable being similarly raised but by means of the musical rest

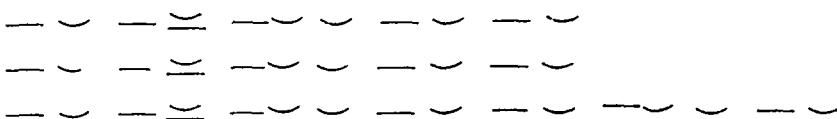
§ 15 The whole of Sappho's first book in the edition arranged according to metres consisted of poems in the logaoedic measure called distinctively Sapphic. It contained 1 320 lines¹ of which we have about 200 lines in thirty or forty fragments. This book may well have been the longest of the nine² into which her poems were divided. The *Odes of Horace* have an average of 735 lines for each book and their total including the *Carmen Saeculare* is only 3 000 lines. Sappho's complete works may have been between two and three times as long. But we possess only 450-500 lines comprising perhaps 2 000 words in all i.e. not so much as one word in four lines.

¹ The x marks the basis. The dactyls are cyclic. The second syllable is long whereas it should be short, and is therefore irrational and could be distinguished by the mark < over it.

² Ox. Pap. 1231 58. See *Introd.* § 3

³ Suidas *Sappho*. The poems in it could not have numbered less than 60 or 70. Nearly a quarter of our extant fragments are in Sapphic metre. Fragments 8, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 31 (?) 82, 33, 34, 36, 37 40, 42, 43 (?) 50 (?) 51, 56, 72 75, 79, 83 89, 89b 95 96, 102, 107 130, 148, 151, 152, 170

§ 16 The Sapphic stanza¹ was rhythmically as follows —



The first two lines are identical, and the third only differs from them in having two additional feet, generally written separately as a fourth line, but so closely connected with the third, as to allow, in Sappho, a word to be divided between them² The rhythm is logaoedic, and consists of trochees with a cyclic dactyl in the third place of the first three lines, and the first place of the fourth line In the second beat of the second foot a long syllable occurs, in the first line 29 times to 12 where it is short, in the second 25 to 14, in the third 23 to 16, making in all 77 lines with irrational long to 42 with the natural short In transferring the metre to Latin Horace made the irrational spondee invariable The addition to the third line is called the *Adomus*, from the refrain ³Ω τὸν Ἀδωνιν, being metrically a choriambus and a long syllable But it is really identical with the end of a hexameter line Victorinus calls it a δίμοιρον ἐπικόν

§ 17 It is not improbable that Alcaeus invented the metre, for the Alcaic metre is only a somewhat stronger form of it, the last syllable of the Sapphic being transferred to the beginning as anacrusis The Adomus must have been a favourite rhythm with Sappho, as according

¹ Called by Hephaestion Σαπφικὸν ἐνδεκασύλλαβον ἐπιχοριαμβικόν, compounded of discordant feet (choriambi and trochees)

² Fragment 3, lines 11 and 12

³ Fragment 91 It does not seem to differ materially from our "Old Mother Hubbard"

to our own Irish Columban¹ she composed whole poems in this diameter of five syllables

The poems must have been short ones for the continued repetition of such brief unvarying lines would soon pall by its monotony. Possibly the diameter was sometimes doubled and a line formed of two adonises making such a line for instance as in Fragment 85 *Σκιδναμέρας* *ἐν στήθεσιν ὅργας* which may be rendered rhythmically —

— — — > — — — — or — — — > — — — L — A²

§ 18 Another refrain of a similar character but a syllable longer is found in **Ω τὸν Αδωνιον*³. It can be scanned as two dactyls or as a choriambus and iambus. In the former case the rhythm would be purely dactylic like our *What can the matter be?* in the latter a cyclic dactyl a trochee and a long syllable filled out by the musical rest to the value of a trochee

A Glyconic verse is found in Fragment 97⁴ consisting of a trochee as basis (or anacrusis) and two dactyls (or dactyl trochee and — A). There is a similar verse in Fragment 7 lines 1 and 2 in each stanza except that the basis has an irrational spondee as often as a trochee. Line 2 in each stanza of Fragment 6⁵ presents some different features in that in two instances out of six it transposes the dactyl and trochee which shows that the line is a logaoedic tetrameter and the basis in one instance is like an anacrusis consisting of two shorts. Abdy Williams thinks that Glyconics (but those he

¹ *Epist ad Fedolium*

² Cf *Little Jack Horner Sat in a corner*. But Sappho's metre may be dactylic tetrameter

Cf. Fragments 92, 93, called by Mar Plotius the hymeniac dactylic diameter

⁴ From Book V as Athenaeus tells us. The Glyconic is used by Horace in his Third Asclepiad i, 3 13 19 etc. Cf also Fragment 167

⁵ See §§ 23 52

quotes are somewhat different) have “ a dance-like and amorous lilt ”

§ 19 Two wedding rhythms, Fragment 124, 126, resemble the last half of a Sapphic line, viz. ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα, repeated. And the Fragment 122, another wedding measure,¹ is the same, with a basis. The famous “Night Vigil” δέδυκε μὲν ἀ σελάννα, has a similar metre, but with anacrusis, which choriambi do not admit. The grammarians take the measure to be Ionic, which, being soft and languishing, suits the character of the poem.

§ 20 In the lines attributed to Alcaeus (under Fragment 27), where he hints at some kind of proposal to Sappho, he uses a metre which is neither Alcaic nor Sapphic, but like both, being a Sapphic line with anacrusis and having one syllable more than the Alcaic Sappho answers him in his own Alcaic stanza, intended no doubt by the compliment implied to soften the rebuke administered²

The Alcaic rhythm is as follows —

I, 2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

§ 21 We find the metre of lines 1 and 2 of this stanza elsewhere, among Sappho's **Fragment**s, only in 26, where the thought is not dissimilar from 27. **Fragment** 154 might conceivably be the beginning of an Alcaic line³ The trochaic rhythm of line 3 does not appear

¹ Called by Hephaestion the nine-syllabled Sapphic, or Choriambic with iambic close.

³ Headlam, *JHS* 1902, vol. xvi, quotes Hephaestion's description of this metre ἀκαταληκτικὸν περίτευον συλλαβῆ τῇ τετάρτῃ, καλούμενον δὲ Ἀλκαῖκὸν δωδεκασύλλαβον.

³ Cf. § 37 below.

elsewhere except in 13 and the doubtful 167. The two words in 158 ἡμιτύβιον στάλασσον give us the requisite numbers of trochees but without anacrusis and no doubt they are part of a longer line. Identical with the fourth line of the Alcaic stanza is Sappho's ironical salutation to Gorgo or Andromeda in Fragment 13, and possibly the mutilated 168.

§ 22 Another Fragment (108) which Wilamowitz judges away from Sappho χρυσοφάη θεραίπαιαν *Aφροδίτας* is like the last but a foot longer a logaoedic measure which can be rendered as two cyclic dactyls and three trochees the last of which if we are dealing with a falling measure may be counted as two feet (— — Δ)

§ 23 Somewhat similar but with a basis are the third lines in each stanza of Fragments 6³ and 21. This is the Phalaecian or eleven-syllabled measure which Fortunatianus says Sappho used in her fifth Book in successive or scattered lines. Terentianus Maurus describes it thus —

Quem nos hendecasyllabon solemus
Tamquam de numero vocare versum
Tradunt Sapphicon esse nuncupandum
Namque et iugiter usa saepe Sappho
Dispersosque dedit subinde plures
Inter carmina disparis figurae

¹ A term applied to a dipodic verse when the whole of the final foot is supplied by a rest.

² See below § 31.

⁸ In which see § 32. See Wilam, *Sappho und Simonides* p. 52

choriambi only are not often found the lines generally ending in the quieter logaoedic and trochaic measure Sappho does not like Horace let the ends of choriambi coincide with the ends of words

§ 26 A usual form of this measure in Sappho was the Greater Asclepiad of sixteen syllables¹ called by Hephaestion the Sapphic choriambic pentameter with complete conclusion. The whole of Sappho's third book was in this metre and the lines were in couplets. We find examples of it in Fragments 15 (third line of the stanza) 20 23 24, 28, 77, 100 119 probably in 149a (but this may not be Sappho's) and possibly in 157. The metre with basis (marked by the asterisk) is as follows



Similar was a line of fifteen syllables with the last foot but one syncopated *viz.* \sqcup for $—\sim$ as in 90 and 123.² It may however be considered except for the omission of the last syllable the same as above. Fragment 144 is identical except for the basis but Bergk takes it as being in Ionics.

§ 27 Chonambic lines of fifteen syllables without basis³ a metre used by Sappho according to Servius are found in 120 and 135 The metre may be rhythmically rendered—



The Lesser Asclepiad 'a line of twelve syllables occurs in Fragments 81 (if we supply *Ἄλλ* before the first line

¹ Fragment 68 is of similar character but it cannot be made to conform without emendation. See Hor. *Od.* i 11 18 iv 10
A double Ephecraean?

* Cf. Hor. *Odes* 7.8 (the great Sapphic) but this has its third syllable long.

syllable long

and also perhaps, without basis (in the first line), in 44. It is the metre of *Maecenas atavis edite regibus* Fragment 99 may be made to conform to it by adding $\Omega\ \Psi\acute{a}\pi\phi\iota$ at the beginning. Similarly Fragments 64 and 112 depend for their conformity on conjectural restoration. The few syllables of 103 may be the beginning of such a line.

§ 29 Allied to the choriambic measures are the *Ionic a maiore* and *Ionic a minore* (— — — — — — — —) They show excitement, enthusiasm, or anxiety, but less emotional feeling than choriambī. The *a minore* was a somewhat stronger rhythm than the other, beginning as it did with an anacrusis¹ Owing to the irregularities allowed in this measure by the use of trochees, which break up the metre ($\grave{\alpha}\acute{\nu}\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota$),² it is sometimes difficult to distinguish it (especially when consecutive lines are so few) from logaoedics. From Sappho's fondness for them, Ionics were called Aeolic. Dr Glazebrook gives as a specimen of this metre in English —

For the great gifts he has granted
To Prometheus we are grateful,
But for Zeus, that wretched upstart,
We can only call him hateful

But whether that is the true scansion of his lines is, I think, open to much doubt

§ 30 Of the *Ionics a maiore*, used by Sappho in her Fourth Book, and taken in couplets, examples occur in Fragment 16, called by Hephaestion *Ionic a maiore* with trochaic dipody (aeolic tetrameter catalectic), and 22.

¹ Horace uses it once, *Od* iii, 11

² By the use of a double trochee for an Ionic foot

But Fragment 12, *σὺ δὲ στέφανος ὡς Δικα πέρθεσθ*
ἔραταις φόβαισιν and 41

ἔγω δὲ φίλημ ἀβροσιναρ — — — — καὶ μοι
 as they have anacrusis cannot presumably be taken
 as choriambic. Wilamowitz considers them to be Ionics
 But they have seemingly a choriambic character

§ 31 The Ionic a minore is found in the acatalectic
 trimeter (83)

τί με Πανδιονις αραινα χελίδων

the whole poem of which this is the first line being as
 Hephaestion tells us in the same metre Fragment 94
 is in an irregular form of the same metre

Among other examples of irregular Ionics may be classed
 the folk-song (53) from the end of Sappho's Book VII
 But Hephaestion scans it as a tetrameter antispastically
 consisting of three iambs and a glyconic line

— — — — | — — — — — —

But Farnell and West Smyth break up the long line into
 two and scan—

— — — — — | — — — — — —
 — — — — — | — — — — — —

making the rhythm logaoedic¹ So also Fragment 73,
 claimed for Sappho by Wilamowitz may be irregular
 ionic or logaoedic The same may be said of *πλήρης*
*μὲν ἔφαλνεις α σελάννα*² (Fragment 76) which Hephaestion
 calls Praxillean ionic trimeter brachycatalectic

Fragment 71 has been given above as logaoedic³ But
 some grammarians take it as irregular ionic which suits
 the character of the poem better However Neue
 points out that in this case there is a hiatus between the
 third and fourth lines It may be a trochaic trimeter

¹ I have now followed this scheme.

See also § 22, where 156 also is mentioned

² See § 19

§ 32 Fragment 82, which has anacrusis, is apparently classed by Farnell at first as choriambic, but subsequently he says "*Ionics a maiore* are often hardly distinguishable from choriambi, with one long syllable as anacrusis¹. Thus we should not be certain that the *Ionic* lines—

Κρησσαί νυ ποτ' ὥδ' ἐμμέλεως πόδεσσιν² κτλ

were not choriambic, were they not succeeded by a line with a short syllable for anacrusis?" It is, however, not quite clear that this line,

πόας τέρεν ἄνθος μάλακον μάτεισαι,

belongs to the other two, as it is quoted separately by Hephaestion, who says that the metre is Ionic, followed by trochees, an acatalectic trimeter used by the Aeolic poets Weir Smyth scans

The mutilated verses in **Fragment 38**, **39**, **86**, **87**, **110**, **146**, **160**, may possibly be in Ionics, but it is impossible to be certain about it. It is difficult to decide about the first line of the stanzas in **Fragment 6**³. They are logaoedic and might be scanned thus —

♩	♩	♩	♩	♩	with anacrusis — ~ in each case before the metre here given
— ~	— ~	— ~	— ~	— ~	
— ~	♩	— ~	— ~	— ~	
— ~	— ~	— ~	— ~	— ~	
♩	♩	— ~	— ~	— ~	

¹ Cf. §§ 25, 30

² From Book V. says Pollux. viii. 73

³ Wilam quoted above (see § 23), says of the metre of Fragment 6: Die Strophe, die hier nicht in drei gesonderte, Hiatus verstattende, Verse zerfällt, sondern durchgeht, zeigt vor drei Glyconeen einen Kretiker, hinter ihnen einen Bacchus Das letzte wird also ein regelrechter phalaecischer Elfsilber The first and third lines do not correspond in metre, but are symmetrical

Fragments 104, 154, are quite uncertain but they may be in ionics

§ 33 It is somewhat easier to analyze the dactylic metres used by Sappho To begin with we may perhaps dismiss the elegiac pentameter as a metre used by her It is true that Suidas says she wrote ἐπιγράμματα and Ovid in his *Epistle to Phaon* (l. 27) attributes to Sappho the writing of elegies, while the Anthol. Palatina¹ has three epigrams purporting to be by her But the latter are probably spurious and though they are happily βασια to use Meleager's phrase they are certainly not πόδεα We find however examples of the Epic hexameter² though this in Sappho mostly begins with a spondee which almost has the character of a basis The metre is found chiefly in epithalamia as in Fragments 129³ 133, 134, 136, 137 probably in 127, 128, 131 132, 148, 150 possibly also in 74 and 111 It is doubtful whether 171 is by Sappho

The Aeolic pentameter occurs three or four times It corresponds to the last four feet of a hexameter line with basis. It would be well represented by our nursery line *Willy boy Willy boy where are you going?* if we added at the beginning *Tell me!* as a basis or if we substituted an anacrusis for the basis and lengthened the last syllable by the musical rest we could quote as an illustration *There was an old woman who lived in a shoe* An instance in Sappho is Fragment 84—

**Ηρός ἄγγελος ἴμεροφωνος αηδῶν*

where Ηρός is a basis In Fragment 52 we get the same metre by reading παις not πάις as usually in Sappho

¹ See Fragments 163, 164, 165

² The ίπτον or μέτρον ἄρωματον which Hepha. calls Aeolic and Sapphic.

³ But it is difficult to make the second line into a hexameter

§ 34 Two very similar lines in Fragment 125—

Τίω σ', ὡ φίλε γάμβρε, κάλως ἐικάσδω,
ὅρπακι βραδίνω σε κάλιστ' ἐικάσδω,

are taken by Farnell and Weir Smyth as basis with three logaoedic dactyls ("cyclic" in Weir Smyth, "choreic" in Farnell, the latter probably correctly) followed by a trochee. There does not, however, seem any very obvious reason why they should not be similar to 34 in the last section. The scansion of 149¹ and 153 is uncertain.

Speaking of a heterogeneous (asynartetic) metre used by Archilochus, Hephaestion says that its first half can be divided as a three-foot anapaestic if it begin with a spondee, like Sappho's **Fragment 109.** *Αῦτα δὲ σύ, Καλλιόπα* , but whether the poem, from which this is an extract, was in anapaests we have no means of knowing It could be dactylic with anacrusis The whole of Sappho's second Book was composed of the dactylic pentameter of fourteen syllables, with basis, in couplets Hephaestion says that Sappho invented the metre However, as these end in two trochees, the dactyls are not true dactyls, but choreic dactyls in three-eighths time The rhythm therefore is logaoedic,

× × × × × × × × × × × × × ×

Such are also **Fragment 17, 18, 29, 43, 47, 58** (probably), **59, 60, 63, 141**, and possibly **45, 143**.

There is also a dactylic Aeolic tetrameter acatalectic ² of eleven syllables with anacrusis, similar to the last-mentioned, but shorter by a dactyl, e.g. **Fragments 7**

¹ Classed by grammarians as tetrameter catalectic So also perhaps

² Mar Victor illustrates by the line *rapunt hederas cito Macnades*

(every third line) 19 30 46 69 138¹ possibly 145 (from Book II) and 159

§ 35 We have no means of judging whether Sappho used purely trochaic rhythms but it is inherently probable that she did² Servius attributes to her the trochaic pentapody but it is not found in our extant fragments unless with anacrusis in Fragment 121 or possibly 158, if that line is by her The scansion of Fragments 49 107, is too uncertain to give us any help But 54 is an interesting instance of the difference between ancient and modern metrists in the matter of scansion The three lines—

Εστι μοι καλα πάτε χρισιοισιν αιθέμιοισιν
ἐμφέρην ἔχοισα μόρφων ἡλῆς αγα-άτα
ωτι τᾶς ἔγω ουδὲ Λυδίαι παισαν οὐδὲ ἐραπαν

are scanned by Hephaestion who apparently read
λέενις —

which is so complicated as to be quite improbable. The moderns using synizesis in *χρυσολογίαν* and *Λυδίαν* give the rhythms as—

— — — → — — L — A

namely eight trochees one irrational one syncopated one made up with the musical rest The metre is like our familiar *If a body meet a body* or *Simple Simon met a pieman going to the fair*

¹ Welf Smyth gives the dactyl as cyclic. In that case the line should scan.

三國志傳

³ Cf 118 mentioned § 38 Cf. *There I met an old man* He could not say his prayers

§ 36 Fragment 118 has a marked beat and a lively lilt, and runs $\underline{\text{—}} \text{—} \underline{\text{—}} \text{—} \underline{\text{—}} > \underline{\text{—}} \text{—} \underline{\text{—}} \text{—} \underline{\text{—}}$ If we divide the line into two, and Hephaestion says it consists of two Ithyphallics, we must scan it as $\underline{\text{—}} \text{—} \underline{\text{—}} \text{—} \text{L}' \underline{\text{—}} \text{—}$, twice repeated Stanzas in this metre¹ might have been connected with a metre quoted by Servius² as Sapphic, viz *splendet aurum, gemma fulget, forma sed placet*, technically called trochaic trimeter hypercatalectic

§ 37 Hephaestion took 121 to be written in iambic metre, and Bergk thought that the metre of 53³ was iambic of an asynartetic or heterogeneous character. But we know nothing definite about Sappho's use of this metre Julian⁴ speaks of iambs "such as the exquisite Sappho likes to fit to her *rōμοι*" These were probably not the ordinary senarii of tragedy. In a well-known line Horace⁵ says *Temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho*. He seems to mean that Sappho used the manly iambic of Archilochus, mingling it with other measures. He adds that in introducing the iambic metre into Latium he followed the example of the Greek lyrists

Many of our Fragments are embedded in prose, or too mutilated to enable us even to guess at their metre. Such are 25, 55, 59a, 62, 67, 68, 70, 78, 81, 101, 105, 108, 114, 115, 116, 117, 139 (?), 155, 159, 161, 162

§ 38 Something has already been said in the Introduction on the subject of possible editions of Sappho

¹ Ithyphallic dimeter, or continuous trochaic tetrapody

² *Centim* 1819

³ See § 31

⁴ *Epist* 30 Suidas says that Sappho wrote iambic verses, but the passage is a later addition to his article

⁵ *Epist* 1, 19, 28

in antiquity¹ There were two of these the earlier one brought out (it is supposed) by Aristophanes of Byzantium² and arranged according to subject matter He was at the head of a school of grammarians who published new critical editions of Homer Alcaeus Sappho Anacreon and others We know practically nothing about this edition But as the *Epithalamia* were according to Servius³ in a separate book the edition to which he refers must have been arranged by subjects unless the wedding songs were made an exception Thus is possible owing to their being choral in character whereas the other poems were monodic or for single voices Some think that the Hymns to the Gods were also a separate book which may have been entitled *Nόμοι*

§ 39 The other edition according to metres was brought out somewhat later than the former by Aristarchus of Samothrace and was the one generally used by the subsequent grammarians and metrists Edmonds suggests that the second editor took the poems from the first edition and simply arranged them in the order in which he found them but by metres This would explain why if the epithalamia were in the last book in two or three instances among the papyrus fragments there is an epithalamium found at the end of a book. Thus the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1231 shows us that the last poem in Book I of the metrical edition (from which it appears to be taken) was an epithalamium⁴ and that the last poem in a collection called *Σαφοῦς μέλη*

¹ For a full discussion of these see Edmonds *Class Quart* Jan. 1922, pp. 10 ff

² Hephaestion *νερὶ οὐρανοῦ* 138

³ Ad Verg. *Georg.* iii. 31 Wilamowitz thinks these may have formed the eighth Book but they are generally assigned to the ninth and last.

⁴ Fragment 142.

was a narrative epithalamium,¹ a quotation from which is ascribed by Athenaeus to Book II. Moreover, **Fragment 53**, which Edmonds (from whom I take the above suggestion) thinks may conceivably be part of an epithalamium, stood at the end of the VIIth Book.² Another sign of the existence of two separate editions is afforded by the fact that some fragments quoted from specified books have metres not in accordance with the evidence of grammarians on this subject.³

§ 40 Book I This contained, as we learn from many sources, all the poems in Sapphic metre⁴ They were no doubt chosen to stand first because of their being the most numerous and the most characteristic of Sappho, the metre perhaps being her invention

Book II This was composed entirely of poems in the fourteen-syllabled acatalectic Aeolic (or Sapphic⁶) pentameter, viz. $\overline{\text{—}} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$. The lines were in couplet stanzas, and the numbers were even, no extra line being allowed, and all the lines were alike. This arrangement of stanzas (*συστήματα*) is called by Hephaestion “common” (*κοινά*)⁶.

Book III This consisted entirely of the sixteen-syllabled acatalectic Sapphic choriambic tetrameter with basis, e.g.

and was, like Book II, in couplet stanzas of even numbers

¹ If, indeed, Fragment 141 is an epithalamium and by Sappho (which Wilamowitz doubts)

² Taking Bergk's emendation *ἐπὶ τέλους τοῦ* in the text of Hephaestus.

³ See Bergk, *Greek Lyric Poets*, Introd. to Sappho.

⁴ In the Logaoedic metre, composed of discordant feet (*genus asyndetum*)

⁵ Some attributed its invention to Sappho

⁶ But Fragments 143, 145, 166, are also quoted as from Book II, and they do not conform to the above metre. See § 39 note.

Book IV The metre throughout this book is thought to have been as with Books II and III in couplets

— — — — — — — — — — — —

It is called by Hephaestion *Ionic a maiore tetrameter acatalectic* He styles it Aeolic because so often used by Sappho Whether the whole Book consisted of similar strophes is not known Perhaps poems in similar metres may have been included e.g. Fragments 90 120 The editors of the Oxy. Papyri Drs Grenfell and Hunt assign the new Fragments in Oxy. Pap. 1787 with some probability to this Book

Book V Apparently contained Glyconics¹

— — — — — — —

or Asclepiads which are amplified glyconics and probably other metres though Fortunatianus² says that the book was confined to Asclepiads But the same grammarian tells us in another place³ that the Phalaecian or eleven syllabled verse — — — — — — — — — — was frequently used by Sappho in her Fifth Book both consecutively and scattered⁴ Pollux tells us that Fragment 144 was from Sappho's Book V⁵ It is probable that this book contained poems in various metres

Book VI Nothing seems to be known for certain about this book Edmonds puts the poems in Ionics here

Book VII We have one quotation taken from the end of this book namely Fragment 53 Hephaestion on this speaking of the antispastic metres says that a

¹ e.g. Fragment 97 consisting of the hymeniac dactylic dimeter

² II. 353

³ I. 315

⁴ Cf. Fragment 76 which has anacrusis not basis and see above §§ 23 26 31 also Wilamowitz quoted above § 32.

⁵ Pollux vii. 73 but see above § 26

frequent type of tetrameter has only its second dipody antispastic Bergk considers the metre as asynartetic Iambic

Book VIII We learn from Photius¹ that Sopater the Sophist in the second book of his extracts from many excellent histories and writings made selections from Sappho's eighth Book as well as from the *Epitomes* of Pamphila, and from *The Virtuous Acts of Women*, by Artemon, the Magnesian, and the *Apothegeis* of Diogenes the Cynic This seems a somewhat strange association in which to find Sappho's poetry But from the nature of the case it would appear that the components of the eighth Book could not have been arranged by metre We must suppose, therefore, that this was the eighth book in the edition by Aristophanes

Book IX The epithalamia² were possibly grouped together in this book, if not in the eighth, of the same edition as the last

§ 41 The poems of Sappho were monostrophic, no antistrophé or epode being used Some of her poems were monoschematic, all the lines being alike, in others she introduced different metres Most of her songs were monodies, i.e. sung by single voices, others, like some at least of the epithalamia, were choral Edmonds has raised the question whether some of her poems were not for reading or recitation only, and he instances such pieces as **Fragments 3, 7, 9, 27**, but perhaps we shall be safer in regarding all her poems as intended to be sung They are called *μέλη λυρικά*,³ or *ἔρωτικὰ* (*μέλη*)⁴ Her various designations are *μουσοποιός* (Herodotus), *ἀοιδοπόλος*

¹ *Bibl.* 161

² See Serv ad Verg, *Georg* 1, 31 They are also referred to by Dionysius of Halicarnassus

³ Surdas

⁴ Pausan 1, 25, 1

(Tullius Laurea) λυρική (Laurea Sudas Schol to Plato) μελοποιός (Lucian)

She wrote in the Lesbian Aeolic dialect which only recognized the smooth breathing and always threw back the accent except on adverbs and prepositions. But the universality of the rule is disputed by Wilamowitz and others. In this edition the rule has been made invariable to avoid the difficulties of decision in individual instances. The digamma is recognized in some words and disregarded in others. It is sometimes found written on the papyrus MSS. as for instance in line 6 of the facsimile reproduced on p. 90 above.



From a vellum fragment in the Berlin Museum brought to notice by Professor Ibscher and printed by Mr Lobel on p 80 of his edition by the permission of Professor Schubart in anticipation of its appearance in his own edition

To follow fragment 6, p 85 above

γαρν[]αλον . . ντο μέσσον

υμρ . . . ον οὐ α μι θέαισι μόρ

φαν ἐπη . . ν ἐξισ

θόαισ'ν ο ετ . . νιδηον

25 τα πατι

μ μερος

καὶ δ μ . ος Ἀφροδίτα

κὰδ δ . . . νέκταρ ἔχευ ἀπὺ

χρυσίας λοῖα

30 ει πείθω

σενη

σ

αγωδιαι

το Γεραίστιον

υν φίλα

υστον οὐδενο

ερον ἴξο

35

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VOCABULARY, GLOSSARY, AND INDEX OF NAMES

A query signifies that the word is doubtfully Sappho's a dot under a letter that it is uncertain and a line under a letter that it is conjecturally supplied. Words that are corrupt are obelized. Words only found in Sappho have an asterisk.

A

ἀ (— ἡ), 41 13, 51, 5, 61, 9, 61 13,
51 54 L 2, 66 L 2 τι 76 ἀ (rog)
121 as demonstrative (= she)
8 L 6 as relative see also
(= ἡ) 7 L 3 τι 163 L 5,
7 τι 165 L 3 ει (= ει) 76 L 2
ἀβάτης (so Herodotus and Etym. M.
for ἀβάτη) lit. speechless =
quiet, gentle or possibly child
like 44 L 2
ἀβλαβήτη 9 L 1
ἀβρος 90 L 1 ἀβρα (from nom. ?)
Ox. Pap. 1231 18 L 4 ἀβρα
141 L 7 ἀβρα, 120 ἀβρα
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 robe of transparent stuff cf.
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 δύο δέρ (— δύοδο) 7 l. 8 19 l. 1
 35, 36 see also μέ and νόη and
 δύρας
 [δύτηρος] δύτηρης οτ δύτηροι, 142 l. 6
 δύτηρ 39 l. 2
 δύλαθας O. Pap. 1231 18 l. 3,
 ? — δελφίθηρ
 δύχροτοθεῖς (δύχροις) οτ συγχρο-
 τοθεῖς only here Berl. Klasse
 Texte, 5, P. 5006 Edm. 34

δύαφος Ο. Pap. 1231 25 l. 1
 δύρος, 6 l. 13 δύρος Ο. Pap
 1787 11 l. 9
 δύλια, Ο. Pap. 1787 12 l. 4
 δύλιοις, 3 l. 24 δύλιοις, 85
 18 δύληρ 21 l. 7
 είδος 75 l. 2 126 l. 1
 είδη 85 l. 14
 εἰδεῖδω (= εἰδεῖσθαι) 125 l. 1 125 l. 2
 ίμι, see ίμι
 ? είμι, ? 167 λόγη (Schol. Hom
 Il. 14 241) Bergk, 159
 είμι ? Ο. Pap. 178 13 l. 3
 είνω 21 l. 10, 141 l. 11 ίειν
 7 l. 4 είνη Ο. Pap. 1231
 2 l. 9 ? ίεινεται (= ίεινεται)
 emend. Bergk, 92 είνηρ
 (είνεται) 27 l. 2 see also φέρει
 (φέρμι)
 είς 21 l. 14 23 l. 2 101 l. 4 (added)
 24 l. 2 (added) δε 31 19 (? MS)
 141 l. 26 Hoffmann denies the
 use of δε
 είς ταν 9 l. 13 λόδιον 86 l. 7
 είσηλθε 21 l. 9
 είσισθε by emend. (for MS οιδει or
 είθε) 4 l. 7 40 l. 5
 δίσκηρος (= δίσκης) 40 l. 6
 δε 3 l. 26 20 (γ) 24 l. 3 41 l. 13
 δε 66 l. 2 100 141 l. 8 Ο. Pap.
 1231 1
 δέκαδολος (δέκαδολος) 141 l. 31
 [δέκατηθέροις] δέκατηθεραι, 9 l. 15
 δέκατηθερο 133 l. 2
 [δέκατης] δέκατηθεραι 138 l. 3
 (cf. Theocrit 29 24)
 [δέκατοδομαι] δέκατοδομάται, 24 l. 4
 [δέκατης] δέκατηθεραι 107 l. 3
 δέκατηθεραι, 124 l. 2
 δέκατηρ = holder used by Sappho
 as an epithet of Zeus. Hector
 was called so, as the upholder
 of his country. The word as a
 common noun meant a peg in
 a carriage pole. Hesychius;
 Bergk, 157

ἐλέλυσδον ορ ἐλέλυξαν (ἐλελίζω), 141 1 19

ἐλέφαις (= ἐλέφας), ινογυ, 141 1 10

ἐλίγματα, circlets, 141 1 8

ἐλικώπιδα, 141 1 5, ἐλικώπιδες, 160

? ἐλκος, a wound, 172

ἐλκην' (= ἐλκειν), 15 1 3

ἐλπις, 87 1 5

ἐμ' αυτα, 37 1 11, ἐμαυτ (possibly ἐμ' αυτα), Οx Pap 1231, 161 11, 23 1 1

ἐμματα (= είματα Hesychius, Φέμματα ιμάτια), 86 1 12, 141 1 8

ἐμμελεστέρα (cf ἀδυμμελεστέρα), 159c

ἐμμελέως, 82 1 1

ἐμμι (εἰμι), 41 15, 44, ἔων (= ὡν), 28 1 1, ἔον, 87 1 7, ἔοισα (οῦσα), ? 163 1 1, ἔστι, 54 1 1, 123 (added), ἥσθ', 41 1 15, ἥν, 64 1 2, 123, ἐμμεναι, 81 3, 61 1 2, 107 1 19, ἐμμεν, 41 2, 181 3, Berl Klass -Texte, P 9722, 3 1 10, ἔσσομαι, 132, ἔσσεται, 24 1 2, 63 1 2, ἔσσεσθαι, 23 1 2, ἔσσο (ισθι), 31 28, ἔσσα (= οῦσα), 28 1 2

ἐμος, 99, ἔμον, 11 1 11, 33 1 1, 42 1 1, 48, ἔμαν, 4 1 5 (οτ μάν), 45 1 2, ἔμας, gen sing, 3 1 6, ἔμοις (? ἔμαισι), 89b 1 5, ἔμαις, acc, 47 1 1

ἐμπέσων (Hoffmann ἐμπέτων), 47 1 2

ἐμπρέπεται, 61 7

ἐμφέρην, 54 1 2

ἐν, 4 1 6, 8 1 9, 8 1 20, 24 1 3 (κήν = κῆ ἐν, Hoffm), 32 1 3, 61 1 1, 65 1 1, 89b 1 2, 128 1 1, 134 1 1, Οx Pap 1231, 2 1 2, 30 1 2, Οx Pap 1787, 9 1 3, ἐνι, 141 1 7, ἐνν, 110 1 10

ἐνάντιος, 41 2, ἐναντ Οx Pap 1231, 17 1 4

ἐνθα, Οx Pap 1231, 17

ἐννεκα, Οx Pap 1787, 5 1 5

ἐννέπω, ? 163, ἐννέποντες, 10 1 10

Lobel 'εννέποισα

ἐννόεις (Edm from MS), 55 ad finem

ἐξαγον 141 1 20

ἐξαλείψαο (ἐξαλείψω, 2nd sing aor), 7 1 21

ἐξεδίδαξ', 20

ἐξίκουντο, 31 1 3

ἐξίησ, 7 1 24

ἐξόχως, 126 1 3

? ἐπάβολ', 31 1 1

ἐπαρθαι (= ἐπῆρθαι), 21 1 12

? ἐτεα, ἐπέων, 1

ἐπέβαινε, 141 1 15

? ἐπέθηκε, 165 1 1

ἐπει, 4 1 17, 85 1 15 (MS)

? ἐπείκη, 85 1 15

ἐπεμέια (= ἐφειμέιη), 15 1 1

ἐπήρατοι, 141 1 30

ἐπί, acc, 6 1 11, 7 1 22, 8 1 2, 19 1 2, 95, 141 1 7, gen, 15 1 3, 74, 85 1 10, Οx Pap 1231, 9 1 3, dat, 9 1 14, 26 1 2, 126 1 2, 133 1 1, 133 1 2

ἐπι 21 1 9

ἐπιβάλλομαι, 131

ἐπίδεσμα, 85 1 1

ἐπιδεύην (= ἐπιδεύειν for ἐπιδεύεσθαι), MSS πιδευει, πιδευσην, πιδευκην, 4 1 15

ἐπίκεσθαι (= ἐφίκεσθαι), 133 1 3

ἐπικυδ glorious, Οx Pap 1231, 2 1 8

ἐπιλείψω (ἐπιλείβω, οτ ἐπιλείπω), 96

ἐπιμνάσθεισα (ἐπιμιμνήσκω), 6 1 17

ἐπιπλάζονται (Hoffm takes as = ἐπερλόμενον from a gloss of Hesychius), Etym M 335, 38, takes it as an aeolic form of ἐπιπλήσσω, but it would appear to be an active form of ἐπιπλάζομαι

? ἐπιπτάμενον (ἐπιπέταμαι), 80 1 2

ἐπιρρόμβεισι (ἐπιρρόμβημι), elsewhere only in Schol Pind 1, 4, 78, 4 1 11

ἀστοραφέα, 151 3
 ἀτλαχεί, 61 10
 [ἀποτίθημι] τίθεισα, 22b 1. 8
 ἀττί 111 9
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 1. 3
 ἀπτα, 115
 ἀπορόγυνοι, 1381 1
 ἀπόθμοσσ Οx. Pap 1787 91 1
 (ἀ)πάρα (MS αράρα) 83 ἀ"parra,
 22a ἀράρας 54 1 3
 ἀπάται (ἀπατεῖ for ἀπύται, sub-
 junct.) 84 ἀπάτας (? from
 ἀράται) 18 1. 1
 ἀπάταις 8 1 17 ἀπάταις or ἀπάτοις
 12 1. 1 ἀράται 71 18
 ἀργού 147 1 3 Οx. Pap 1231
 12 1. 2 ἀργα, 56, 85 1. 20
 ἀργού Οx. Pap 1231 2 1 6
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 ἀρέβιθοι, 74
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 ? ἀργαται (ἀράται) 163 1 1
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 ἀρος 46 1 1 47 1 1 126 1. 2
 ἀροι 101 12 ἀροι (MS ἀροι) 41
 1 25 ἀροτος 401 3 ἀροτος (?)
 Οx. Pap 1787 11 1. 4
 ἀρων (ο.ι. δλων) said to be an
 Egyptian word for wine
 (Eustathius) 140 1. 2
 ἀρχαται, 136 1. 5 Αλθ 89b 1. 1
 Αλθηρ (= Αλθ Ιτ) 6 1. 19
 Αλθοντα, 100 ἀρχεο 7 1. 8
 Αλθε, 141 1. 2, 141 1. 12 Αλθε
 3 1. 8, ? 45 1 1
 Αλα (= Ασθλο) 140b 1. 2 Αλα,
 85 1. 4 Αλατη 11 1 2 27 1. 1
 Ασλ Οx. Pap 1231 2 1. 3
 ? Ασων (see under Αιων MS
 ΥΕCCEP) Hoffm. reads
 αλλων 93
 ἀρδας (= ἀτα(πας) 128 ἀτα(πας),
 111 ἀτα(πας) (dat. or as Hoffm.
 acc) 89b 1. 4

ἀτα(πας) Berl. Klass. Texte, v P
 5006 8
 ἀτη, 22 1. 10
 ἀτρο (MS emend to ἀτερο) 59
 ἀτρωτα (= ἀτρωθ) 3 1. 5
 ἀτη, 41 8 (ἀτη) 24 1 1 131 ? 163 1 1
 (Edm.) Οx. Pap 1787 9 1. 2
 32 1. 3
 ἀτη 22 1. 9 37 1. 3, 57 1. 2 144
 Οx. Pap 1231 2 1. 5 (or οτη)
 ibid., 51 1. 2
 ἀτάθεα ? (so MS) 12 1. 3
 ? ἀτάθεα, 13 1. 9 ἀτάθεα Schol
 Hom. II 20 234 Bergk, 139
 ἀτάμιμο λαρ Edm. Blaas prefers
 ἀτροκ ὀτλαρ 156 ἀτάμιμολαρ
 66 1. 3 Label rejects ἀτάμιμο
 ἀκαρπτον 81 1. 3
 ? ἀκαλδισον 163 1. 6
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 ? ἀκματεται Schol Hom., II 20
 234 Bergk, 139
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 ἀκτριχόρον 141 1. 12
 ἀκθροισι, 9 1. 7
 ἀκα 44 1. 2 Berl. Klass. Texte P
 9722 31 4 ἀκα - ἀκα queried
 by Wair Smyth 124 1. 2 ἀκα
 ασθα, 35 1. 1 124 1. 2 ἀκα, ? 1
 14, 661 2 87 1. 5 ἀκα (= ακα)
 64 ἀκα (= ακα) 27 1. 1
 ἀκα Berl. Klass. Texte, 9722,
 3 ἀκασα, 61 3 54 1. 2 Οx. Pap
 1787 11 1. 6 ἀκασα Οx. Pap
 1231 2 1. 3 ἀκασα, MS omitted
 by Edd., 100 ἀκασα Οx. Pap
 1231 2 1. 3 50 1. 8 ἀκα Οx.
 Pap 1787 12 1. 5 cf 87 1. 4

F

Fέατα (δύρωμι) 4 1. 9

F λαγη read λαη see also

Φέσπερε, 129 l 1

Φίδρως, see ίδρως

Φικέλαν, 61 5, but see also ίκελος

Φιοπλόκων (MS ίοπλοκάμων), 57 l 1

? Φίσσος (= ίσσος), 136 l 3

Φίτυν, Ter Maurus, *De Syll* 658, implies that Sappho used this word with the digamma. It means the "rim of a wheel"

Φοί, see note to Fragm 4, Bergk, 111, Φοῖσι, 91 6

? Φοῖδα (Fick), 41 3

Φόν, 103

Z

ζάβατον (= διάβατον), Cramer, *Anecd Or* 325, 27, Bergk, 158
ζὰ ἐλεξάμαν (Edm διελεξάμαν, to avoid hiatus), 94, ζάλεξαι, Ox Pap 1231, 50 l 3

ζὰ ἔχην, by tmesis, 87 l 4

ζαφ Οι Pap 1231, 55 l 4

? ζάφθερον (διαφθεῖρον)

ζαφοίταισα ορ ζαφοίταισι (διαφοιτάω), 61 16

ζαφύοιμι, 156b

(ζάω) ἔζωμεν, 61 11

H

ἢ than 8 l 19, ἢπερ, 142 l 11

ἢ ορ 21 l 7, 27 l 1, ? 36 l 1, 89a bis

ἢ verily, 7 l 6, 86 l 4, 87 l 3, ἢ, Berl Klass -Teute, 5, P 5006

ἢβα (= ἢβη), 156b

ἢδέ, Ox Pap 1787, 36 l 5

ἢδη, 31 l 4, 40 l 1, 41 l 12

? ἢερίων (should be ἀερίων), 1

ἢθεοι, epic for ἀθεοι, 141 l 18

ἢλευ (2nd pers aor from ἀλλομαι), 38 l 3

ἢμιτβύιον, 158

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ἢρα (= ἀρα), 21 l 4, 131

ἢρεο (= ἢρου from ἔρομαι), 31 l 15

ἢρος (or Φῆρος = ἔαρος), 84, and see Bergk, 124

ἢς, 141 l 28

ἢσι, he says, 150

? ἢσμεθ, Οι Pap 1231, 18 l 6

Θ

θαασ, Ox Pap 1787, 11 l 7

θάλαμος, ? 164 l 2, θαλαμ

Οι Pap 1231, 18 l 7

θάλασσαν, 61 11

θαλίασι, 89b l 2

[θάλλω] τεθάλαισι (= τεθήλαισι), 61 13

θαμέων, thick, 37 l 1

θέλγει, 15 l 2

θέλω, 3 l 17, 7 l 2, 7 l 10, 37 l 9,

Οι Pap 1787, 12 l 4, θέλετε, 153, θέλη, 9 l 3, θελήσης, 22

1 6, θέλοι, 9 l 9, see also ἔθέλω

θέμις, 61 l 1, θέμις, 1

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θεοικέλοις (= θεοικέλους), ορ θεοίκελον, 141 l 33

θεράπων, 99, θεράπαιναν, 106

θεσπεσία, 141 l 29

θῆται, 41 l 9

θίγοισα (= θίγουσα), 41 l 4

[θναίσκω] ? θάνοισαν, 164 l 1, τεθνάκην (τεθνηκέναι), 4 l 15, 7 l 2, ? θναίσκην, ? θθναισκον 164 see also ἀπυθναισκω

θνάταις, 40 l 9

θόαισι, 61 24

θρῆνον, 61 l 2

? θυγάτηρ, 105, θύγατρες, 141 l 16

θῦμος, 3 l 27, 79 l 1, θῦμον, 3 l 11, Berl Klass -Teute, 5, P 5006,

θύμω, 3 l 18, 9 l 3, 22 l 5

θύοισι, Οι Pap 1231, 2 l 2

θύραν, Οι Pap 1787, 19 l 2

θυρώρω, gen, 138 l 1, ? 139

I

Ιαρ (= μιαρ) Edm. reads οιδηλαρ
(= οιδημιαρ) 23 l. 1
Ιδης corrected in MS from Ιδης
(Aeolic Ιης) gen. sing., 141
l. 6 Ιηρ Berl. Klass. Texte,
9722, 3
αχος 141 l. 30
Ινδας the back of the knee Oxf.
Pap 1231 18 l. 3
Ιθης (Hoffm. Ιθης) 41 13
Ιδητης (? Ισθητης) 4 l. 3
Ικαρη, 141 l. 28
Ικετη (MS ικετη, Doric) 4 l. 8
Ικετος, 9 l. 2 Ικετη 86 l. 10
Ικελος (see also Ικελος) 141 l. 21
? Ιματης gen., 1598
Ιμέρος 4 l. 5 Ιμερεττα, 107 l. 10
Ιμερος 21 l. 13 Ιμερος gen. 6
1 17 27 l. 1 Ιμερο Oxf.
Pap 1787 10 l. 2 Ιμερο Oxf.
Pap 1787 10 l. 7
Ιμερφατος 84 cf. Theocr 28, 9
Ιμέρρει, 3 l. 27
Ιμέρτηρ 126 l. 2 ? Ιμέρτηρ 164 l. 4
Ιοκόλων, gen., 142 l. 8
Ιονιδόκον see Ιονιδόκον 57 l. 1
Ιππων Oxf. Pap 1231 32 l. 1
Ιπποις 141 l. 17
Ιππησον (Ιππησης) 8 l. 1
Ιοδηθρα, 45 l. 3
Ιοος 4 l. 1 Ιοοος (see *Floors*) 136
1. 3 Ιοα 141 l. 3 Ιοα, 41 l. 15
Ιοων 6 l. 12
[Ιοτημη] ιοτηθησαν 76 l. 2 οιδη
(= οιδη) 26 l. 1 οιδησαι
(= οιδησαι) 21 l. 14
Ιοτον 53 l. 1
? Ιηγηλων (= ιηγηλων) 170
Ιηφιος (= ιηφιο MS) 136 l. 1
Ιον (from Ιον) 7 l. 13

K

καδη (= κατ) gen., 87 l. 1
καδη 6 l. 28 κατ 141 l. 30

καλ, occurs 79 times

? καλορινης 43 l. 2
καλтο, 110 l. 7
? κακοζοτας 163 l. 2
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1 19
κακότατος 11 l. 15
κακότρωπ 38 l. 4
κακχέρεας (= καταχέρεας) 4 l. 13
κάληρι οτ κάληρι (καλέας) Oxf.
Pap 1787 44 l. 4 κάλετ, 103
? κελδθων Oxf. Pap 1231 18 l. 5
καλλικρον, 120
καλλικρηρος (Hoffm. καλλικρατος)
160
κάλος 63 l. 1 63 l. 2 143 l. 4
κάλα, ποτη fess., 6 l. 13, 54 l. 1
127 κάλον 41 l. 25 64 l. 2
Berl. Klass. Texte, 5 P 5006 l. 6
κάλος 5 l. 3 14 74 86 l. 11
κάλοι, 3 l. 9 κάλα, 7 l. 12,
41 l. 10 87 l. 8 (κάλ.) 107 l. 3
(κάλ.) 141 l. 9 κάλον 11 l. 6
27 l. 1 κάλαιο 33 l. 1 κάλιστος
οτ κάλιστος 130 κάλιστον 81. 3
οτ δριστον 8 l. 8 κάλως 34
l. 2, 125 l. 1 125 l. 2 κάλωτα,
125 l. 2
κάλλος 8 l. 7
[καλέστω] ικάλλυπτη 147 l. 2
κάμ (= κατ) 4 l. 9 146
κάμπατος 143 l. 6
[κάμρω] κάμη (edd. κάμπη) 30
κάνων (= κήφων) 161
καρδηλας (κάρδηλ Edm.) 4 l. 6
II l. 10
κάρυψ (= κήφων) 141 l. 2
καρχηδον, 140b l. 1
καστα, 141 l. 32
κασιγηρητον 9 l. 2 κασιγηρητον
9 l. 9
κασπολόδας οτ κασπολόδα (κατα
στέλλω) 146
κάτ (= κατε) acc 107 l. 12
κατη, gen. 41 l. 191 ? 70 acc
42 141 l. 12

κατα Οὐ Pap 1231, 39 1 3
 κατάγρει, 148 1 1 Hesych = καθαιρεῖ καταλαμβάνει Sappho
 κατάρρει (for καρρέει, if the former is admissible in Acolic some would read κατάγρει), 72 1 4
 κατάγωγις, 51 5
 κατάρης (Hoffm = κατωρῆς), Eust, 603, 39 Sappho and Alcaeus used ἄνεμος κατάρης for a cyclone So possibly it should be read for κατ' ὄρος, 47 1 2 Bergk, 160
 καταστείβοισι (?) καστείβοισι, 31d φερεις φλιυρ, 134 1 2
 ? καταύλει (Finck for MS καταυδείη), 80 1 2
 κατελίππανε, 71 3
 κατερείκεσθε, 90 1 2
 κάτερωτα for καὶ ἐτέρωθι, 31 5
 κατέταν (= καθέταν, for καθέτως ?), vertical, which does not suit ἐπιπτάμενον Wilam (Sappho and Sim, p 61) reads κατ' ἔλαν, for Σέλαν, 80 1 2
 κατεύδω (= καθένδω), 71 1 4
 κάτηχεν (= κατεῖχεν), MS εἰχεν, em by Melhorn, 27 1 3
 ? κατθεμένα, 163 1 2
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 κάτισχεν, 39 1 8
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 κείσαι, 24 1 1
 κελάδει, of a gentle sound, 72 1 2
 κέλομαι, 5 1 1

[κεράννυμι] ἐκέκρατο, 140a 1 1
 κῆ (= ἐκεῖ), 140a 1 1
 κῆθι (cdd for MS κήθι) Diehl, κήθυ (?) = ἐκεῖσε), thither, 6 1 19
 κῆνος (= ἐκεῖνος), 4 1 1 see also note to Fragm 4 (Bergk, 111). κῆνοι, 37 1 3, 140b 1 1, κῆνο, 8 1 1, κῆνον, 86 1 4
 κῆρ, 61 1 8
 κίνδυν, gen κίνδυνος, acc κίνδυνα (= κίνδυνος, etc) Cheroboscus, 1, 282, Bergk, 161
 ? κλαῖην, 174
 κλέδον (= κλήδων), Οὐ Pap 1787, 14 1 4
 κλέος, 110 1 9, 141 1 4
 κλῆτοι (= κλεῖτοι), Edm Others πρῶτοι, 107 1 4
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 ? κόμα, 108, κόμαν, 164 1 4
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 [κορέννυμι] κεκορημένοις, acc, 17 1 1
 κούφως, 8 1 14
 ? κράσις, 66 1 2
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 ? κράτος (gen of κράς), 164 1 4, ? κράτα, 55 1 10
 κρέκην (= κρέκειν), 53 1 1
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 ? κρίνον read in MS by Edm, 55 1 4
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 [κυκάω] ἐκύκα, 27 1 2
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? κέρτοι 165 1. 2
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? κενταρ 165 1. 2

A

λέβοισα (— λέβοντα) 51 2 31 1. 8
λέθα, 25 1. 4 ? 59a, 60 λέθαιος 35
[λευθάνομαι, λέθομαι] λελέθοντο, te-
dapl. *epic aor.*, 133 1. 2 λέθει,
7 1. 11 λελέθ, Oxf. Pap. 1787
12 1. 3

λέπτη 75 1. 3

λέπτων 81 18 41 1. 25

λεπτοτος, closely woven *linen*,
συδότοις *πεπτρόμηνος* Pollux,
vii, 73 1. 44

[λευχός] λέχειν (MS. λαχεῖν)
57 1. 2 λαχέτη (MS. λαχοίην)
88 1. 2 λέλογχη, 41 1. 25

[λέγεις] θέλειται 27 1. 4 λέγεται,
Oxf. Pap. 1231 27 1. 2

[λείβω] θλιβωτ 140b 1. 2

[λείνεις] λέπτων, 3 1. 7 λέπτοι 135
1 1 λέπτωναι, 118

λέπτο 41 19 λέπται 61 1. 18

λεπτόφον Oxf. Pap. 1231 22
1. 2

λεπτας, 95 1. 1 λεπτοτέρα, ? 159c
λεπτότερον 112 1. 3

? λευκόσωμεν 171

λίθωντος 141 1. 28

λίγυρας (— λίγυνας) Oxf. Pap. 1787
13 1. 11

λιγύρας acc sing., 80 1. 1 λίγυρα,
381 7 λιγύρας gen. pl., 41 1. 11

λίσσονται, 3 1. 2

λίγυρας 91. 10

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extant remains of Sappho
Άδραρμον (= *Άδραρμον* for
Άδραρμον) 141 L 16 Hesych
άδραρμος βασιλέας
Άδραρμον (MS. *Άδραρμον*) 60
Άδραρμον 24 L 3
Άδρας 5 L 3
Άδρα, Bergk 162
Άδρα, 165 L 1
Άδρα, 38 L 1
Άδρα, see 16 L 5 note
Άδραδίκη (see also *Άδρα*) a friend
of Sappho ², 16 L 5
Άδρας, 97 L 2 (Wlamowitz)
Άδρας, ? 25 (56) ? 108 118, 120
Άδρας *gen. plur.* 57 L 2
Άδρας Bergk 164
Άδραδίκης, 108
Άδραδίτρος (gen. sing.) son of
Sannadas, 163 L 4
Άδραρμον, 114
Άδραρμον see *Άδρα* Bergk, 167
? *Άδρα*, 89
? *Ταράδος* (*ταράδος*) 164. Timas is
supposed to have been a friend
of Sappho ². Edmonds introduces
her name into 97 L 2 and changes
it in 164 to the diminutive
Timadia (Hesychius)
Άδρα, 8 L 9
Άδραρμον 39 L 9
Άδραρμον 9, 10, ? 11. See Ovid,
Heroid. 62, 117 Herodotus, II,
135
Άδραρμον ? 108 119, 120, ? 127
Himerius, *Or. xiii*, 7 (Bergk, 147)
Άδραρμον (= *Άδραρμον* from *άδρα*)
93, 136 L 1 136 L 2
Άδρα, 87 L 2
Άδρα, 110 L 8
? *Άδρα* Palaiphatus, *De Incr.*
49 euros δ *Άδρα* δοτε δφ ψ
τρα δρακτα αδρα (i.e. of Aphro-

δίτε) ἡ Σαπφὼ πολλάκις ἀσμα
 ἐποίησεν See Eudocia, 414,
 Apostolius, xx, 15, Ovid,
Heroid, xv, Bergk, 140, and cf
 Wilam, *Sappho und Simonides*,
 p 34f

?

Φερσεφόνας, 164 l 2
 Φοῖβος, 141 l 31
 Φωκάας (= Φωκαλας), 97 l 4
 Ψάπφοι, 3 l. 20, 7 l 6, 98, 110
 1 5
 Ωράνω (= Οὐρανοῦ), 101

NOTES

An asterisk denotes that the word is not found elsewhere

(1) Gerstenhauer in his Dissertation on the Vocabulary of Sappho and Alcaeus (*Diss Philol Halenses*, vii, pt 2, 1894) has gone fully into this question. His conclusion is that about two-thirds of the Vocabulary is Epic, nearly all of it aeolized. But some words still keep their Epic form, such as *καταρρέω* and *καταστείβω* (add now *ἡτθεος* and perhaps *ἡεριος*) Epic, however, also had some Acolic words such as *ἔρος* and *κτανω*. In many cases the Lesbians used Epic words in new senses or in a different connection, as *ἀβακής*, *ἀέλιος*, *ἀμβροσία*, *ἄχαρις*, *γαμβρός*, *κελαδέω*, *λεπτός*, *ἀναπετάννυμι*, *δονέω*, *ἐκποτάμα*, *κυκάω*, *όπτάω*, *ὅρπετον*, *ἔκτωρ*, *μέσαι νύκτες*, *ἀσινής*, *βασιλήος*.

Of the third part of the vocabulary, which cannot be traced to the earlier Epic writers some words are Acolic, others unassignable to any particular dialect. Among these some have affinity to Epic words, others none, e.g. *αὔδω*, *ἄωρος*, *δαύω*, *δοκίμωι*, *ζάβατος*, *κίνδυν*, *ματεῖν*, *πεδέχω*, *περὶ* = *ὑπέρ*, *πλάζω* = *πλήσσω*, *σπολέω*, *στάλαγμα*, *υπικε* in its sense, *υσδος*, *χέλυννα*.

Nouns first used by Sappho are *ἀμάμαξν*, *ἄνητον* (but also Alcaeus), *μύρρα*, *νίτρον*, *ἄπον*, *λάσιον*, *βάρωμος* ορ *βάρμος*, *βεῦδος*, *βρένθειον*, *γρύτη*, *δακτύλιος*, *ἡμιτύβιον*, *καρχήσιον*, *μάσλη*, *δλπις* (ορ *ἔρπις*), *πάκτις*, *ποτήριον*, *Σκύθικον* *ξύλον*, *τύλα*, *ὑπαθύμιδες*, *χερρόδμακτρον*, *χλάμυν*, *ἄσα*, *πίσυγγοι*, *φόβα*. All the other substantives have some connexion with Epic, e.g. *παρθενία*, *μέλημα*, *πάλος*, *γάνος*, *Πειθώ* (the goddess), *ἀπάρθενος*, *γλυκύμαλον*, *μαλοδρόπευς*, *μαψυλάκας*, *οἰκία*, *χέρας* ορ *χέραδος*.

Adjectives first used by Sappho are *ἄσαρος*, and from Epic nouns *μάλινος*, *τέρπνος*, *μαινόλας*, *φαινόλις*, *πλήρης*, *ἄκακος*, *ἀφάνης*, and such as show Sappho's exquisite art *ἀδυμέλης*, *ἀδύφωνος*, *ἀλγεστίδωρος*, *γλυκύπικρος*, *διάμειπτος*, *δολόπλοκος*, *ἐμμέλης*, *ἐμφέρης*, *ἐπτορόγυνος**, *ἰμερόφωνος*, *ἰόκολπος* (Alcaeus also), *κατάρης** (also Alcaeus), *μελίφινος* ορ *μελιχόφωνος*, *μοισόπολος*, *μυθόπλοκος**, *παιδόφιλος**, *πάροικος*, *πεμπεβόηος**, *ποικιλόθρονος**, *πολύολβος*, *βροδόσφυρος*, *χρυσαστράγαλος**, *χρυσοφάης*. Other words not found elsewhere in old writers are *ἀμέργω*, *ἐπιρομβέω*, *αιθύσσω*, *εἰκάζω*, *κρέκω*, *μεγαλύνω*, *πτερυγόμαι*, *σταλάσσω*, *φροντίζω*, *ἐκδιδάσκω*, *ἐκπονέω*, *εὐκλείζω*, *καταγρέω*, *κατερείκομαι*, *καττύπτω*, *στεφανηπλοκέω*, *συναείρω*.

(2) Dative in *i*

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